THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

DEVELOPMENTS in Shantung between Japanese forces and the Nationalist armies of China once again throw wide open the Far Eastern question, and inevitably led to Japan's pronouncement on Manchuria. Japan has shown that she is ready to take drastic measures to safeguard the lives and property of a few thousand of her nationals in Shantung. How much more importance, therefore, will she attach to Manchuria, where her nationals number well over one hundred thousand and her invested capital is calculated at many millions? What will the result be, should the Nationalists, flushed with success, challenge Japan's treaty rights north of the Great Wall? Such a challenge would be the logical development of the Nationalist program. The beginnings of it were marked by protests and parades, not only in China but in Chinatowns round the world. The four characters on page 373 are taken from a banner in the New York parade and read: "Boycott bad (Japanese) goods." The focal point in Far Eastern politics today is at the very gateway to Manchuria. PAUL HIBBERT CLYDE writes from the background of long study of the question. He is assistant professor of history at Ohio State University and author of the recent International Rivalries in Manchuria. Page 373.

BUILDING dykes, which closely resemble our own Mississippi levees, to control the floods along Chinese rivers, has gone steadily forward throughout the civil war. Not the least interesting part, as ANNA LOUISE STRONG describes it on page 377, is the way in which the American engineer in charge, O. J. Todd, has been able to get on with his work-crews of newly organized union laborers with their self-conscious leaders. Miss Strong describes it all from first-hand observation on her latest trip around the world, which recently ended in New York. Mr. Todd, it should be noted, is employed by the China International Relief Commission at Peking, which was organized at the time of the great famine of 1920-21. Its procedure is to employ men on the dykes, road-building and other public improvements, at wages paid in food sufficient for themselves and their families. This tested and constructive form of relief-giving it is employing at present, during a famine which has affected ten million Chinese, of whom four million are reported to be starving. The money to be thus used is now being raised in the United States—a fund of "ten millions in ten weeks"—by the China Famine Relief Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City, of which the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman is chairman.

OUTSTANDING among churchmen for his liberal and informed views, particularly on labor, FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL, the Methodist bishop of Pittsburgh, was the logical chairman of the Committee on Industry of the outspoken conference on missions which met in Jerusalem. Just as we go to press, word comes of his transfer to New York. Page 380.

MARY AUSTIN needs no introduction to readers of her Best Twenty Years, in the April Graphic. A realistic interest in Indians and Indian arts is a major concern of her vigorous personal demonstration of how an adult life should be lived. Page 381.

AN almost lifelong student of Indian problems and a passionate advocate of justice for them, JOHN COLLIER is widely known through his work as secretary of the American Indian Defense Association and as a contributor of articles to The Survey and other periodicals. Page 389.

OUR HIDDEN CITIES is the first instalment of a paper on social research, prepared for the International Conference of Social Work, meeting this month in Paris, by PAUL U. KELLOGG, editor of The Survey, and NEVA R. DEARDORFF, director of research of the Welfare Council of New York City. Page 391.

AS this issue went to press, AMELIA EARHART and her companions (page 393) were waiting in Newfoundland for favorable weather to take off for Europe. Not the least interesting part of her flight was Miss Earhart's statement that she would be back for the summer work at Denison House, Boston. The headworker, MARION PERKINS, writes that "Amelia is not an easy person to describe; her personality is not a 'vivid' one, rather an intriguing personality that reveals itself only so far and leaves one guessing."

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Courtesy Milch Galleries, New York

CROWDED HOUR ON ONE OF THE CANALS AT SOO CHOW, CHINA

Etching by Lucille Douglass

Miss Douglass, an American artist who lives in Shanghai, has made many beautiful pastels and etchings of China and Cambodia as well as the illustrations for New Journeys in Old Asia, by Helen Churchill Candee.

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THE SURVEY
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Manchuria: No-Man's Land of Asia

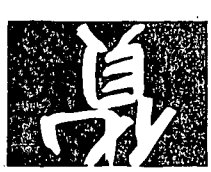
By PAUL H. CLYDE

A HUMAN stream of life; life that is half starved, life that wraps its emaciated bones in rags that a respectable American tramp would scorn; life, disease-coated but yet hopeful—this is the picture you will see today if you stand with me on the Japanese docks in Dairen, the greatest seaport of North China. The picture is not the most beautiful, but it is the most vital that the Far East can offer you.

Steadily that human stream is swelling to the proportions of a torrent. Each year it is composed of more than half a million Chinese fleeing from famine, plague and pestilence, and from worse than these—the inhuman warfare of Chinese war-lords. And they are bound to Manchuria, where their despised neighbor, the Japanese, will protect them, where law and order will prevail, and where enough grain to keep body and soul together may escape their bandit countrymen.

It was only a few years ago that the shores of Talien Bay harbored nothing but a rude Chinese fishing village, ill-smelling and unkempt. Hardly a handful of Chinese made it their home. But today on its shores stands the second seaport of China, and along its docks are tramping millions of Chinese feet. From Shantung and Chili, and from all of North China they are coming. Men and children and women with infants in their arms, they are seeking new homes. Overpopulation, famine and war have driven them from the tiny farms which under the best conditions could do little more than just sustain life.

There are a thousand pictures for the artist as these pilgrims to Manchuria's soil file down the docks. Their whole capital stock is tied to their backs, and the burden is not a heavy one. They are adventurers into a new life. Land and some meager equipment must be given them. Perhaps they wonder whether even the promised land of Manchuria will receive them. The bitterest trials of the pioneer of the American frontier present no parallel to what these men and women have suffered, yet their faith in life has not been killed. Theirs is an eager hopefulness, perhaps tinged with misgiving, but they can still smile and they do smile. It is a case of humanity put to the test and not found wanting.



Behind this human picture is an international problem that no student of world politics can avoid. It is the struggle of the great Far Eastern powers—Russia, Japan and China—on one of the world's historic battlefields—Manchuria. What then is the background of this story?

For to convince the casual reader that the conflict between the Nationalist armies of South China and the forces of Chang Tso-lin and his federation of northern war-lords is not the major element in the Far Eastern question as it confronts the West, may appear somewhat presumptuous. Yet that is exactly what the writer hopes to do.

Because the converse of this proposition seems so obviously to contain the truth, the reader is perhaps entitled to at least a hint of what is to follow in these pages. It is not the purpose to belittle the importance of those nationalistic forces which now have China in a turmoil, or to minimize the consequences of the changed conditions under which nations of the West will in the future conduct their business with China.

That China seems well on the road to joining the family of nations as a people enjoying full sovereignty, is a fact not to be slighted. That her armies are fighting one against the other in a desperate effort to put their house in order, is not a matter of small consequence. That Americans and other foreigners have suffered loss in life and property, is indeed regrettable but hardly surprising. That one revolutionary government after another should strive to master the nation and to speak for it, is merely a repetition of historical phenomena with which every student of revolution is familiar.

In a word, there is nothing particularly strange or alarming in the forces behind China's nationalist revolution. It is a case of a nation casting off the disabilities of a minor

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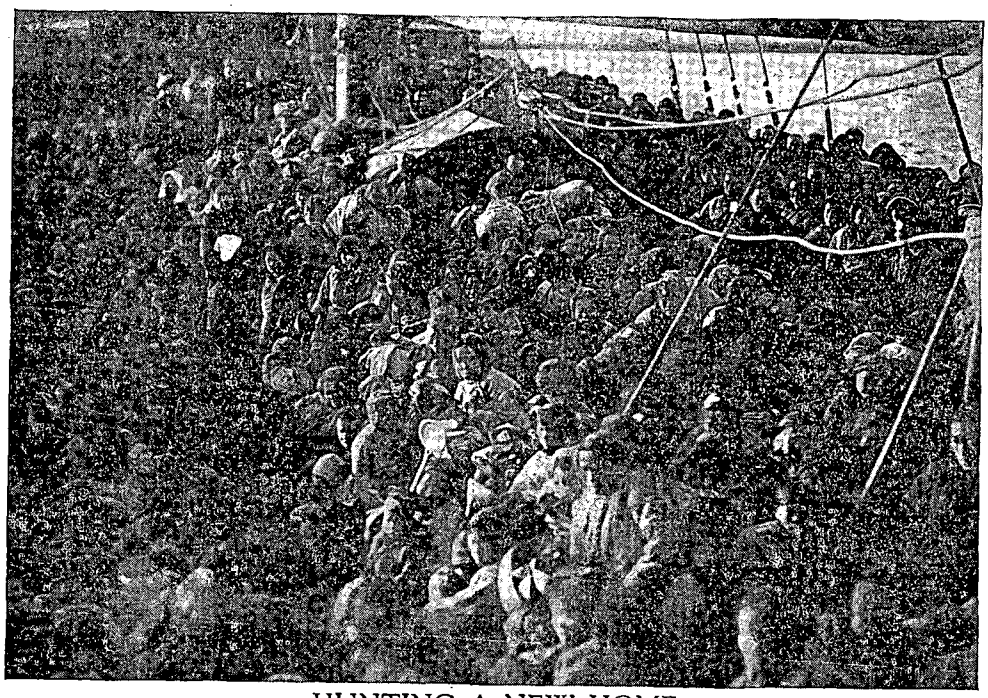

HUNTING A NEW HOME

Chinese emigrants from Shantung who have heard that in Manchuria there is plenty of land and no war-lords. They are fleeing from the famine that is now following the civil wars in the native province of Confucius. Their destination is Manchuria where they hope to found new, if indeed humble homes. They only ask to be permitted to work and earn a meager livelihood in peace.

and asking to be treated as one who has reached years of discretion. And in view of the circumstance that this alleged minor dates its birth back somewhere about 2800 years B. C., it may be that there is some justification for assuming that the age of maturity has been reached. And having been reached, China will put her house in order, will solve her problem of finding a stable government, will —if the foreign powers show her but reasonable sympathy— find a working basis for an expanding commerce between East and West. All these questions will take care of themselves a good deal more readily than the frightened diehards in the foreign settlement of Shanghai are apt to admit.

But another question will remain. It is older than the revolution of 1911, older than the Republic, older than the problems created by the rule of the super-war-lords, older than the traditions of Sun Yat-sen and his political army, the Kuomintang, older than extra-territoriality and the notorious fixed tariffs about which we have heard so much, older than the infamous "unequal treaties," older than the opium war and all its chain of disastrous consequences.

IT is the centuries-old game of international politics which, almost from the dawn of the modern era, has been played by China, Japan and Russia, in Fengtien, Kirin and Heilung Kiang, the three eastern provinces, known to the western world as Manchuria.

Strange indeed that these lands whose names the average American has perhaps never heard, should be so vital a stake in the struggle of nations. Why is it that Manchuria harbors some of the bloodiest battlefields of modern world history? Why have both Japan and Russia struggled to build great economic if not political empires on Chinese territory? Why are they prepared to sink untold millions in lands which they do not and perchance never will own? What can be the outcome of an economic rivalry at times friendly, at others less so, between Chinese, Japanese and Russians in the most fertile granary of the Far East? What will be the outcome of racial contacts between Manchu, Muscovite and Nipponese? Can a clash of arms be averted when Japanese bureaucratic monarchy, Chinese republicanism and Russian communism rub shoulders in this no-man's land of Asia?

Perhaps the story of international rivalries in Manchuria will help us find the answer.

It was in the late years of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth century that explorers, fur-traders and brigands from European Russia swept eastward across the snow-covered mountains and along the rivers of Siberia. Their company, composed of daring adventurers and fugitives from the law, penetrated to the frozen shores of the Sea of Okhotsk to develop for Russia a lucrative fur-trade. To the south, across the ridges of the Stanovoi Mountains, they pushed their way in search of fertile grain lands. But they plundered and burned and ravaged the helpless Mongol tribes of the Amur, and in 1689 the Manchu princes who, in the previous fifty years had captured the imperial throne in Peking, dispatched armies to the north and by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the first that China ever concluded with a western power, the advance of the Russian adventurers was halted on the summit of the Stanovoi Range.

FOR more than one hundred and fifty years an era of comparative peace ruled the northern borders of the Manchurian provinces, until in 1846 Tsar Nicholas I ordered an investigation of the Far Eastern confines of his Siberian Empire and sent to the Pacific, Nicholas Mouravieff, later known as Muravieff Amursky, a man of capacity and vision.

It was in those years that Russia was entangled in the European struggle finally involving her in the Crimean War, and her revived interest in the Far East was a protective measure against attack by England and France from their strategic positions in China. The story of Mouravieff's career is well known. By a series of diplomatic strokes that will not bear too close examination, he pushed Russia's boundaries south in 1858 from the ridge of the Stanovoi Mountains to the left bank of the great Amur, or Black Dragon River, and two years later, by unscrupulous trickery—through which even the astute Prince Kung, who was then running the Chinese government, was unable to see—annexed the maritime province of Primorsk running south to the borders of Korea. Here he located the

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city of Vladivostok, the dominator of the East, as the outpost of Russian imperialism on the Pacific.

While these events were in progress the western powers, led by Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the United States, had broken the centuries-old policy of exclusion and seclusion which the founders of the house of Tokugawa had devised for Japan. Then in the decades which followed, the land of the rising sun emerged as by magic from the condition of a highly organized feudal state to that of a modern world power prepared to defend and extend her empire by the most approved methods of the West. The opportunity was not long in presenting itself.

The peninsula of Korea thrusts itself out from the mainland of Asia as a dagger pointed at the heart of Japan. For centuries the Koreans, a backward people, eking out a miserable existence under brainless and corrupt rulers, had been content to admit their subservience by paying annual tribute to both China and Japan. In 1876, the Japanese broke through Korean exclusiveness and forced a commercial treaty upon them following the example of Perry's mission to Uraga in 1853. Other powers followed to secure the benefits of Korean trade. But the hapless Korean administration was able to control neither the internal outbreaks of a host of political freebooters nor the bitter sentiments with which the foreigners, particularly the Japanese, were regarded by the majority of the Korean people.

THE HOUSEHOLD ON FOOT

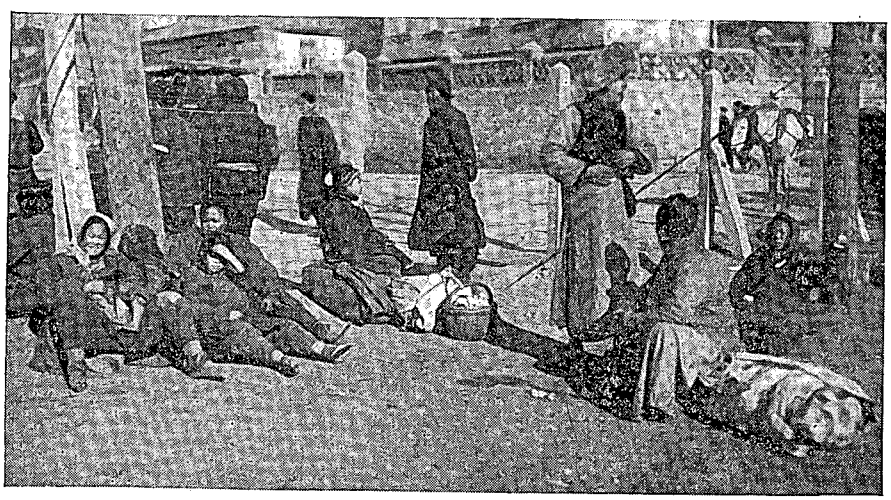
Chinese leave the great Japanese docks at Dairen carrying their entire stock of this world's goods on their backs. Some are going to join relatives already settled in Manchuria but most of them go anywhere the authorities will permit. Many are destitute of funds, for the tax collectors of Shantung are among the world's most notorious robbers.

JAPAN determined that she must force a policy of reform upon Seoul and asked the Chinese government to join with her in this program. This the government of Li Hung-chang refused to do, and when Japan embarked on the project alone, the Chino-Japanese War followed. A recital of the progress of that conflict is unnecessary. Suffice it to say that the arms of Japan swept up the peninsula and into Manchuria, threatening to descend upon the imperial capital itself, when China sued for peace and signed at Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895, the treaty which closed the war.

By the terms of that peace, the Japanese forced the recognition of Korean independence and demanded the cession in perpetuity and full sovereignty of Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula in South Manchuria. It was like asking for the key to the principal gateway of all China, for its possession would open wide the road to Peking. In this demand Japan was frustrated by the combined intervention of Russia, France and Germany. Tokyo was forced to swallow her pride and restore her prize in Southern Manchuria to China. It was a blow to national pride that Japan has not forgotten.

Meanwhile Russia was building her Trans-Siberian Railway from the Urals to Lake Baikal, and in 1896 she exacted her recompense for intervention on behalf of China by securing from Li Hung-chang the right to construct the eastern sections of the road across north Manchuria in a direct line to Vladivostok. Two years later, to the chagrin of Japan, Russia leased Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula from China, the very territory which three years previously she had forced Japan to forgo.

On the very spot where Japanese armies had marched and fought, Russia built her fortress, Port Arthur, and her commercial metropolis, Dalny. She then joined Harbin on the main line of the Trans-Siberian or Chinese Eastern Railway with this fortress and seaport in the south. She cut the forests in the railway zones where flew the Russian flag and where only Russian police exercised authority. The coal fields of Fushun were exploited. The customs house of Newchwang passed into Russian hands and the open door for trade and commerce in Manchuria became merely a



RESTING IN DAIREN

These Chinese immigrants have just landed from the ship and are hoping to find a corner on some flat-car of the Japanese Railway which will carry them to their new homes. During 1926, 600,000 Chili and Shantung farm workers came to Manchuria, less than 200,000 returned home. During 1927 the number of arrivals exceeded 800,000.

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Drawn for the Second Edition Revised, by W. D. Turnbull

MANCHURIA, FOCUS OF THE FAR EAST

Here Japanese bureaucracy, Chinese republicanism, Russian communism strive for domination. Russia, to retain her ancient empire, uses politics and propaganda; Japan seeks control through economic ascendancy. Meanwhile China wins by default—her farmers, to escape their war-lords and chronic famine, are settling in Manchuria at the rate of half a million yearly. Map from International Rivalries in Manchuria, by Paul Hibbert Clyde, published by the Ohio State University Press.

memory of the past and a vague hope for the future. All this was the program of Count Serge Witte, Russia's nimble-witted minister of finance. But other adventurers entered the field, less scrupulous to observe the few surviving niceties of diplomacy.

THE story of these men is as audacious as anything which adorns the pages of fiction. Admiral Alexieff, the viceroy of the Far East, State Councillor Bezobrazoff, Admiral Abaza, and the notorious minister of the interior, von Plehve, caught the none too stable fancy of Nicholas II and won his support and sanction for the creation of the infamous Yalu Timber Company. Under the guise of an economic penetration into South Manchuria and northern Korea, these adventurers wove a political plot to control not merely the three eastern provinces, but Korea itself, the dagger pointed at Japan. It was just a little more than the statesmen of Japan could bear, and when after more than a year of negotiations between St. Petersburg and Tokyo no satisfactory compromise could be reached, Japan again went to war. Again she fought upon China soil—to preserve her own national existence, to maintain an open-door policy in Manchuria, and to assure the independence of Korea. And once again she won.

The Russo-Japanese War was a victory for Japan, but it did not decide the destiny of Manchuria or solve the most perplexing problem of the Far Eastern question. On the contrary, new and foreboding elements were added to an already acute situation. Russia was forced from Korea, and five years later Japan—to make certain that the dagger would never be thrust against her—annexed the peninsula.

In South Manchuria after 1905, the rising sun floated from the fortifications of Port Arthur. Dalny became the prosperous commercial Japanese outpost of Dairen. The old Russian railway, from Port Arthur to Changchun, passed to Japan and became the most modern and best-equipped line in all Asia. In a word, Tokyo by the Treaty of Portsmouth, fell heir to all the leaseholds, rights and concessions in South Manchuria that Russia had exacted from China since 1898.

For the first time since 1895 the Elder Statesmen could smile with satisfaction. The humiliation of the triple intervention was appeased, for with her leasehold and railways in Manchuria Japan might hope to profit as though the territory were actually her own. In 1915 she presented Peking with the so-called notorious twenty-one demands which extended the twenty-five-year Russian lease to which she had fallen heir, to ninety-nine years, opened new avenues for railway development and sought additional concessions for her settlers.

Three years later, while the Chinese government was controlled by an infamous group of grafters usually referred to as the Anfu Club, Japanese banks advanced many millions of yen in credit to finance the railroad development of Manchuria, always taking the railroad and its equipment as the security for the loan. It appeared that Japan too, as Russia had done before her, was attempting to close the door of Manchuria to all nationals save her own, and weight was given to this view by the exclusive policy which she advocated in the meetings of the China Consortium of 1920.

While Japan was thus strengthening her economic position in South Manchuria, Russia was holding on as best she might to what remained of Witte's vast schemes in the north along the line of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Here the Russians continued to dominate such development as there was, although it must be admitted that defeat in the war of 1904-05 had effectively applied the brakes to Russia's advance. After 1905 her policy had lost its punch.

The division of Manchuria into two great "spheres", Russian in the north and Japanese (*Continued on page* 398)

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Young China Tackles the Floods

The Nationalists, the Labor Unions, and an American Engineer Conspire Against "China's Sorrow"

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

FOUR thousand years of recorded history has ancient China fought with her untamed rivers, winning or losing battles as primitive dykes held or gave way under press of surging waters, and swept away homes and crops from the vanquished peasants. At the moment of going to press another flood has ravaged Shangtung, and the overflow of "China's Sorrow," the descriptive prophetic name given to the Yellow River, has cast into starvation renewed millions. Yet in recent years I have talked frequently with small, heroic groups of hopeful people who tell me that it is a possible dream to banish floods and famines from China forever.

Last summer I saw near Hankow the successful completion of one of the endless battles waged by man against the waters, when I accompanied O. J. Todd, chief engineer of the International Famine Relief Commission, to view his latest achievement—done in cooperation with the Nationalist government for the saving of the three Wuhan cities. I talked afterwards with Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, minister of communications at that time in the Wuhan government, and saw the maps and statistics which chart the possibility of this new dream. And though today the Nationalist forces are sunk again in the expensive and exhausting clash of armies and internal dissension, and attention has turned from all constructive activities which were so noteworthy during the period of the "national united front," yet many Chinese have glimpsed new hope of chaining the rebellious waters. It can be accomplished in a decade or two, once given peace and a unified government. It is even now being accomplished piecemeal, by a handful of daring adventurers of many nations who, across the lines of civil war, have kept a unity of constructive achievement.

Most docile and industrious perhaps of all earth's creatures is the peasant of the Chinese plains. Working even today in many places for ten cents (gold) a day, or toiling to feed a family from two or three acres of earth, his life is a constant war with nature in which defeat means death while victory means only the chance to renew the struggle another year. Even in good years his harvest hardly suffices to feed him abundantly till another harvest; he dozes through the cold months, half hibernating on an insufficient diet, and feeds himself up in the spring to be able to start work. In years of floods and famines, he has no reserves to call on. In some of the recent famines, Chinese peasants have perished by millions.

The cause for China's floods, if one seeks an ultimate cause, goes far back beyond the dawn of history to the unrecorded days when industrious but anarchic peasants of a land which was not yet the united empire of China, denuded lands of forests and left the watersheds without protection. How much of the flooding tendencies of China's rivers are due to such acts of man, and how much to original conditions imposed by nature—such as enormous reaches of flat, soft soil—is for geologists rather than historians to determine. Over four thousand years ago we find the problem of floods attacked in China by the famous Hsia Yü, founder of the Hsia dynasty.

Chinese schoolboys have been taught for ages to revere this great engineer of past generations who, longer before the birth of Christ than we have lived after it, was assigned by Emperor Shun the task of controlling the floods of the Yellow River. The present Central China was not then part of the Chinese Empire, so Hsia had no Yangtze to deal with and none of the rivers of the south. He worked for thirteen years, say some, and nineteen years according to others, on the task of flood prevention and control; the legend which glorifies him says that in those years he three times passed his ancestral home but did not take time to enter to see his first-born son. Because of his success he was regarded as a great benefactor of the race, saviour of the lives of millions, and for this typically Chinese reason was made emperor to succeed Shun.

O. J. TODD
The American engineer in charge

From the days of Hsia till now there has been a Ministry of Public Works in China, sometimes doing its task of flood control more or less well for a few hundred years, and then falling upon centuries of corruption in which dykes rotted and peasants' prayers went up to God and emperor unavailing. There was a period in which Catholic priests, newly come to China with the knowledge of western lands, had for some decades control of the dyking of the Yellow River; but a controversy with the emperor over the proper Chinese term to use for "God" shook their ascendancy; all that continues today of the scientific labors of those Jesuits is the Sicawei Observatory in Shanghai, where they still keep meteorological records from all over China.

A relic of the labor of early Jesuits

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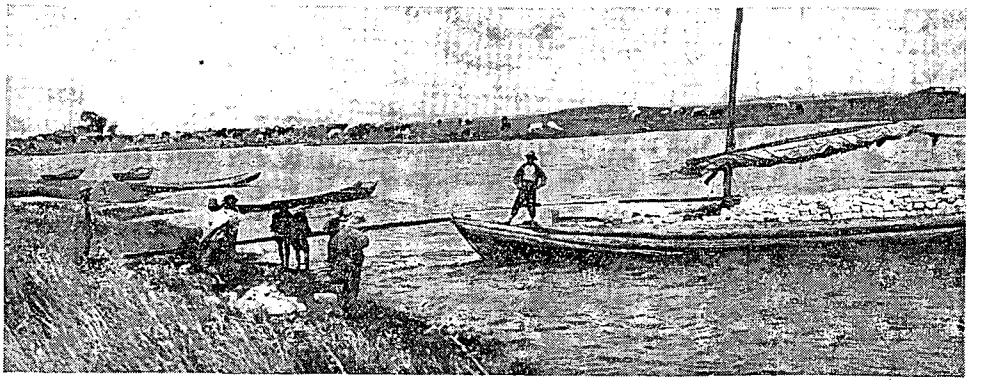
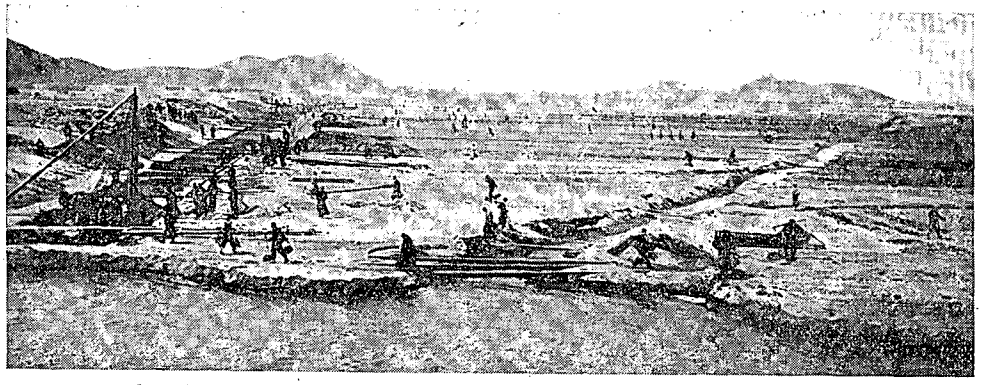


Mediaeval bricks from the historic Wuchang wall, used for dyke-facing

is found in one of the five main canals in the upper regions of the Yellow River, which make prosperous the irrigated lands around Ningsia. The other canals of this remarkable development were built by the Chinese. Traveling last autumn through the far northwest of China, I crossed through desolate, hungry mountains of Shensi, filled with naked, begging children, and through the uninhabited deserts of southern Kansu, and came to this garden spot of a few thousand square miles where water-wheels, elevated channels, and a net-work of small ditches create a land



The Shihshow job, showing muck ditch, with piling nearly all driven

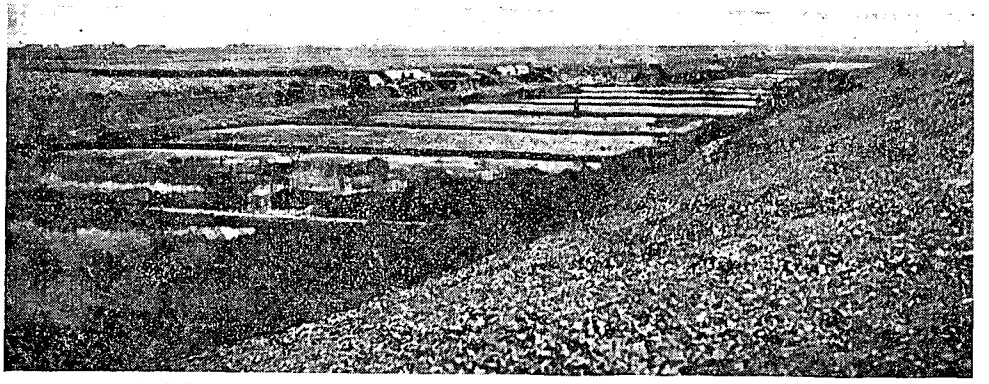
culture reminding me of Holland. A local missionary of the fundamentalist stripe even told me that Kansu peasants were especially hard to Christianize, since they had a saying: "Other men trust the Old Man of Heaven but we in Kansu trust the Yellow River." His testimony indicated that this Kansu "god" must have been rather reliable—a happy contrast to the terrible reputation which "China's Sorrow" acquires nearer its mouth.

Political conditions have played an important part in the repairing of dykes in China. The first century of Manchu rule preserved the established routine, but the past hundred and fifty years neglected it. Under the civil war of the past fifteen years, this neglect has grown to catastrophic dimensions, as fund after fund assigned even to regular local repair has been diverted by graft and violence. Military rulers who hardly venture to expect continuance of rule for another season, loot the reserves of the country-side, including dyke moneys, and save themselves and their ill-gotten gains in some foreign-controlled concession town, when Nature takes her blind revenge upon the hapless peasant.

A letter from O. J. Todd in May of this year, mentions a few samples of this local neglect:

> Yellow River work has lagged due to civil war and continued graft. . . . Though they continue to collect a surtax on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway fares in the north, I have been told that none of this money gets to the Yellow River Bureau. . . . The Chihli River Commission organized to study the rivers of Chihli has practically closed this year. . . . The Kwai River problem remains as it has for years. Even at Canton the Kwangtung Conservancy Bureau has been doing work in a very limited way only. . . . It was a good start we made a year ago in Hankow on dyke-patching. Chen, Sun Fo and Soong dreamed no doubt of a broad program. But war continues to make its first demands on the available cash. . . . The time has not yet come for a large National River Conservancy Board to be formed and given the necessary powers. Unification and peace must precede any large program.

Meantime the only agency which works on a national scale is a rather unique commission composed of mixed Chinese and foreigners, whose chief function seems to be to provide O. J. Todd with a chance to "engineer" all over China. Known as the China International Famine Relief Commission, it is the survival of an organization formed to help the great famine of six and seven years ago. It uses its funds not for gifts but for wages, hiring hungry peasants to build dykes against future floods and roads for future transport and thus prevent famines in the years to come. Roads, in fact, are only second to dykes as a necessity; I have traversed a province in southern Central China where the only road of any kind existing among tens of millions of people was a hundred-mile stretch of fine modern road-bed, much of which had been built by the Famine Relief Commission. This organization has local branches all over China, especially in the regions most subject to flood, and these branches are made up of civilian and official Chinese selected not by local politics but by the central organization.



A dyke, like a Mississippi levee, under construction near Hankow

Thus it has been able to func-

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tion across the boundaries of civil strife, dealing with every *de facto* power from Dictator Chang in Peking to some back-country potentate whose name has never graced the American press. During the white heat of nationalist advance a year ago, strong efforts were made by the authorities in Peking to prevent any funds going into the so-called "Bolshevik regions"; the Chinese members of the board were terrorized with the possible loss of their heads for treason if they permitted this "diversion of funds." None the less, O. J. Todd, with a mixture of adroitness and high-handedness, personally forced the needed funds into the Wuhan area and probably prevented a flood which might have had serious effects in the industrial regions of Central China. Incidentally, this cooperation of the Famine Relief Commission with the left-wing government then in Wuhan is probably the first experiment in collective bargaining on a huge scale to be undertaken in China. Todd dealt with revolutionary trade unions—whom the foreigners were all dubbing "impossibilitists" and whom even their own revolutionary government found it hard to deal with—and emerged with a completed dyke.

The eight-man flapper calls on China's surplus labor

A VISIT which I made to this dyke while in process of reconstruction gives illuminating pictures of life as it actually goes on in the war-tossed regions of the backward countryside. The dyke work was in charge of the Famine Relief Commission, being financed jointly by them and the Nationalist government. Two special taxes had helped raise the money: a duty of 1 per cent on all exports and imports of the port of Hankow; and a demand for three months rentals from all Hankow landlords. A howl arose that too much was taken from the city and nothing from the peasants, but the Nationalist financiers were aware that the city of Hankow had money in pocket, while the peasants had nothing that could be quickly collected. Hence they took funds realistically where they could.

Two thousand men were working on the section of the dyke-repair job which I visited. This being the job which was nearest the city, these men were all trade-union members supplied by the Central Labor Union of Hankow. It was the first dyke in China to be built by union labor, and it was done during the peak of the revolutionary labor upheaval which painted Hankow "red" in the eyes of the nations. Every foot of its ground was full of drama.

We drove in our auto along the top of the dyke for several miles. Here, for instance, were boats slowly poling up to a landing, laden with great bricks of a kind no longer made in China. Twenty inches by nine by five in size, they were part of the old wall of Wuchang city, across the river from Hankow, where famished inhabitants recently endured a siege of forty days. The conquering Nationalists decided to tear down the wall, beginning with a great popular demonstration, since "it is a relic of feudalism and has many times in warfare caused great suffering to its inhabitants." Mr. Todd bought fifty thousand of the bricks and was converting the mediaeval wall to modern dyke-facing.

Among the picturesque features of dyke-building in China is the "eight-man flapper," a large flat stone weighing eighty pounds and fastened into a rope harness operated by eight men. When the earth needs stamping down, as it does after fifteen inches or so of fresh earth have been laid, these men stand in position around the stone and chant an ancient folk song till the appropriate word gives the signal. Then all at once they pull back, throwing the heavy stone ten feet in air, to fall on the designated spot of earth and press it down firmly. Repeated again and again over the many miles of the dyke surface, this operation alone seems qualified to use up some of the surplus labor of China.

We inquired into the nature of the songs the "flapper-men" were singing. One of them was the Flower Drum Sing Song, which we were told could not be put in English. . . . It is all about "Chai Ming, stayed in a hotel, met a young girl sweetheart. . . ." Another seemed to have more reference to the matter at hand. It told how "Brother died, put him in ground, stone at grave, go out and weep, hit head against stone, hit head against stone, break head. . . ." I could not learn on which of these latter words the stone went into the air, but obviously there were several appropriate moments.

MR. CHANG, walking delegate of the Hupeh Labor Union, stood out in gorgeous contrast to these ancient labor methods. He believed in the dictatorship of the proletariat with himself doing the dictating. He walked up and down the entire length of the dyke continuously (his title, "walking delegate," was well earned), swirling a light bamboo cane which was for purposes of prestige and, when necessary, punishment. He had eleven "labor soldiers" under his orders guarding the dyke, and eleven "labor police" assisting him with discipline. His function seemed remarkably different from the other labor representatives of my acquaintance.

"In three days time," he said to Mr. Todd, "comes Dragon Boat festival. Men all want holiday. I say, 'No can do.' Dyke much important for Hankow government; dyke must finish. I say, (*Continued on page* 400)

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Where the East Spoke Its Mind

The Missionary Conference at Jerusalem on Industry, Forced Labor, Self-Government, Fertilizers

By FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

A UNIQUE missionary conference was recently held in Jerusalem. Usually missionary conferences have been assemblies of missionaries without much participation by, or representation from, the peoples among whom they work. I once attended such a conference in a so-called non-Christian land where seventy-five or one hundred church workers sat for days without inviting into their meetings a single native of the land in which they were meeting. At one of the greatest of all missionary conferences, that which met at Edinburgh in 1910 with two thousand delegates, I doubt if there were fifty who actually represented the fields in which missionary effort was being carried on. At Jerusalem it was different. The attendance was limited to about two hundred and fifty and arrangements had been made for 51 per cent of the delegates from what are called "indigenous" mission churches—that is to say, native churches in the actual missionary fields.

The Jerusalem conference was to a degree an opportunity for the utterance of the mind of the Orient to the Occident. Not only did the Oriental representatives outnumber those from the West, but the program was so carried through that perhaps the larger part of the discussion was by Orientals. It is probably true that in a sense the conference was "steered." The steering, however, was not for the purpose of directing toward action on a conclusion predetermined by a central committee, but for the purpose of giving Orientals their full opportunity. The only way in which it could be charged that western influence predominated would be to declare that the Westerners stepped aside again and again that representatives from Japan, China, India, and Africa might have time to speak all that was in their minds. For fifteen days the conference sat in sessions morning, afternoon, and evening, with the spokesmen of the countries that I have mentioned telling those of us from the West their own needs and our inadequacies.

Especially interesting were the pronouncements of the conference on industrial themes. In fact I happened to be chairman of the committee that brought in a series of findings on industry in relation to missions. The procedure was to appoint a large committee composed only of those who chose to serve upon it. Nobody was assigned to the Industrial Committee or drafted for service thereon.

After informal discussions the committee decided upon a list of subjects upon which it chose to have the conference make declaration. No theme was considered that did not come out of representations actually made by nationals in what we call the foreign missionary field. After the opinions in the committee had been roughly thrown together, Professor R. H. Tawney of the London School of Economics, author of The Acquisitive Society and Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, was commissioned to put the findings into shape for action by the full conference. This insured that the statements would be so fashioned as to meet any possible criticism to the effect that they were the utterances of amateurs. In addition, Harold Grimshaw, of the International Labor Department of the League of Nations, was present to keep us straight as to facts, especially on labor questions in so-called backward lands.

Much of the report has to do with labor in Africa, especially with forced labor. The discussion of forced labor at a missionary congress is difficult, because governments are aware that missionaries are hostile to forced labor, and suspect that any information supplied to investigators comes from missionaries. For example, nobody has ever had much doubt about the essential justness of the findings as to forced labor in the so-called Ross Report on conditions in Africa, published some three or four years ago. Nobody has ever convincingly challenged the substantial soundness of the work that Professor Ross did. It is clear, however, that in more than one instance those whom the Ross Report seems to have criticized were convinced that Professor Ross received his information from missionaries. This suspicion has made missionaries in some quarters liable to virtual deportation upon one pretext or another.

It appeared in the discussions at Jerusalem that in such matters as forced labor the missionaries are experts in knowledge of actual facts. It appeared also that oftentimes missionaries are most cautious in making any suggestions as to what should be done to remedy evils, or even in calling attention to such evils. In more than one instance, it was said, government officials have complained that the missionaries have not spoken out freely enough. These officials have declared that they have been in favor of more humanitarian methods, but that they have been helpless before the pressure of great financial interests, and that they have not been able to move except as pushed forward by the pressure of public opinion in Europe and America. They have complained that missionaries have not done their full share in arousing public opinion. Such criticism hardly seems just in view of the fact that the missionary who criticizes is likely to find himself in danger of deportation.

WHATEVER the risks involved, however, the Jerusalem Conference made such definite recommendations concerning forced labor that any fairly intelligent reader can have little doubt as to who have been the offenders against humanity. Moreover, the sentiment was openly voiced in the conference that mission boards in Europe and America should stand by their missionaries when they get into trouble with governments in so-called backward countries through criticism of forced labor. That is to say, the mission board which is compelled (*Continued on page* 405)

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Pueblo women decorating. Painting by an Indian, Awa' Tsireh

Indian Arts for Indians

By MARY AUSTIN

PEOPLE who have lacked an opportunity to become interested by participation in American Indian art, often fail to understand that its intriguing quality lies in its power to make of the world a more spacious place in which to live. By its vitality, its effect of consistent change, like the subtle alterations of a growing plant, the art of the Indian links the observer with a past and a future in true genetic relationships. And into that larger room of life to which it invites him, it brings all manner of pleasing companions.

Precisely this happened to less than a score of Americans when, in 1922 at Santa Fe, New Mexico, they found themselves sighing over the rapid disappearance of the exquisite *tinajas* of the Pueblo Indians, being struck with the value of their decorative schemes, and their pertinence to the evolving American aesthetic. Here was an unexplored field of decorative activity, capable of expansion in clearly indicated directions, falling into desuetude through the indifference of ignorance. And by a logical process the observers found themselves suddenly bound over to the task of rescuing the most interesting of native American arts by establishing an Indian museum dedicated to the needs of the Indian artist, rather than to the American crowd vaguely curious about Indians. Without any prevision, the Indian Art Fund sprang into existence, and within four years the spirit and the interior works of a museum have come together in what is the most notable collection of aboriginal ceramic art in the United States.

Santa Fe is the inevitable locale of such an adventure. It is unique among American towns in having the absolute background for the creative life, and a body of citizens whose work is not directly creative but who are yet intelligently interested in preserving the inestimable fitness of the town as a background for work of community and national value. Workers in every field of creative art find here both the incentive and the occasion, while about them doctors, lawyers, merchants, all that assemblage of activities comprehended in the term "business," are organized into a protective association to see that nothing threatens the quality of the environment. In a community which reaches the highest mark of modernity in art in the studios of John Sloan and Andrew Dasburg, there is bound to be a place for Awa' Tsireh, and Fred Kabotie, for Maria of San Ildefonso and for the vanished nameless artists who long before these, painted their inmost thought on food bowl and water jar.

Santa Fe is situated at the eastern edge of the Pueblo country, in which may be found all that is left of the highest mark of aboriginal culture in the United States. Here in twenty-three independent, cooperative commonwealths, are gathered the remnants of a type of social achievement that

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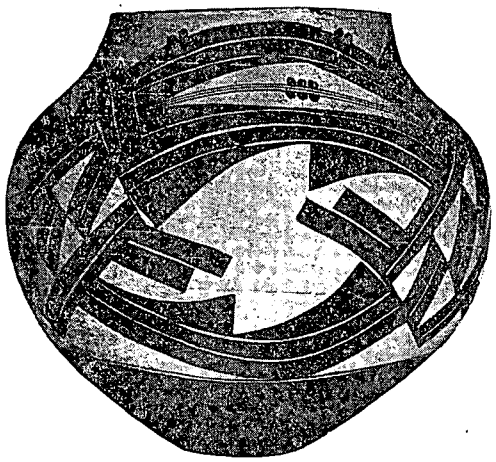
once spread widely from the Rio Pecos to the west bank of the Rio Colorado, from Mesa Verde in Colorado to Casas Grandes just across the old Chihuahua border. There was another, similar, but larger group, spreading south to the valley of Anahuac, which has long disappeared into the racial scramble that is old Mexico. Here in New Mexico, in spite of the Indian Bureau and the missionaries, the Pueblos retain each their distinctive character. Fundamentally, they are agricultural, communistic, and intensely republican, never owning an overlord, nor dreaming of empire such as the old Mexican group more or less attempted. The Puebleños are also all of that temperament which is called "artistic"; which means that they are highly susceptible to natural beauty, deeply interested in the inner meaning of the world they live in, and happy in the human expression of these things, in music and in poetry, in the dance and mimetic representation, and especially in expressional design. By expressional design, as distinguished from design that is purely aesthetic, I mean the kind of two-dimensional representation which children and all primitives delight in, attempting to express something quite simply, that, in a more sophisticated society makes use of a great variety of mediums and techniques: print, paint, photography, engraving, wood and stone carving, and scores of plastic materials unknown to the Indian.

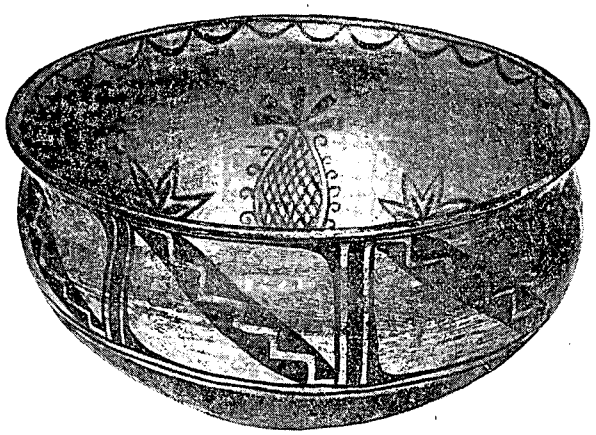
A rare specimen from Santa Ana Pueblo

The Puebleño had but one medium which he could use freely—the colored earth from which he made his pots and with which he painted them. He wove a little with cotton, dyed with roots and twigs; he pecked a little with one stone upon another; he daubed with juices of berries on tanned skins, but with none of these had he any medium which would live even so long as the material lived. For lasting effort he had only his earthen pots, which when painted and burned in open kilns, would outlast the life of the maker by a thousand years. So it turned out that the Puebleños became, compared to other tribes, superior potters, and—since pottery surfaces afforded almost their only decorative surfaces—surpassing decorators. This was true of them not only among other Amerind tribes but among primitive potters of the world. The dwellers in old Zuñi and the Hopi towns, in Sia and Santa Ana, surpassed in decoration not only their contemporaries but probably every other tribe of the same stage of civil development. Notice I say civil rather than cultural, since there is no absolute determination of the cultures of vanished European tribes with whom our Puebleños may be ranked. Technically the New Mexican Queres and Tewas and Zuñis were, at the time they were discovered in 1540, in the stone age. Intellectually they are perhaps on a par with those Cro Magnon and Magdelenian men whose etchings on bone and paintings on cave walls of Southern France and Northern Spain, excite our wonder and admiration. But decoratively they reached forward to an equality with—possibly superiority to—the potters of recently discovered cities of the Sea Kings of Crete. The designs of the Puebleños are not more exactly representative than the Cretean, but more subtly expressive and poetic. That may be because the sea-bred islanders, surpassing the Amerind in every other manufacturing art, poured their decorative energy along many lines, while the desert-born Puebleño went on clarifying his most spiritual perceptions in the ornamentation of his few and frail utensils of daily use.



Laguna water jar

People with the training which would enable them to evaluate the decorative art of the New Mexican aboriginals, began to come into the Pueblo country in numbers, eight or ten years ago. They came primarily to profit by the all-year-round working conditions, the radiant color and entrancing light. They found terraced towns melting into the landscape, gleaming with yeso against *el dia de la fiesta,* or throbbing with color and rhythm of the dance. They saw the old men saluting the descending sun from the terraces, and heard the *pregonero* come out on the housetops to announce the allotment of communal tasks. Always there were the women going up and down the ladders with priceless *tinajas* poised upon their heads, or tending open kiln fires around cooking pots whose decoration caught the breath with arresting perfection of design. Unhappily, beside the artists there were tourists, curio dealers and collectors, so that every breath of delight drew after it a sigh of regret that it should all seem to be so quickly doomed to decay.



Mixing bowl, bearing the best traditions of old Cochiti

About the time artists and writers began to come into New Mexico, a movement was started among friends of the Indian, among whom artists of every sort are to be reckoned, to rehabilitate the arts and crafts of the Indian by finding him a market for them and encouraging him to produce only the best samples. This movement, which had primarily the object of

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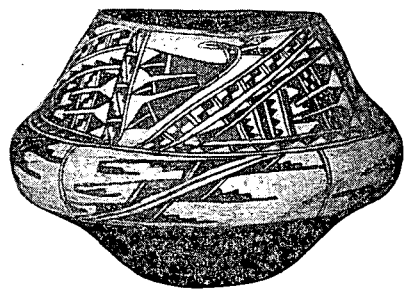
rescuing the Indian from the debasing poverty into which our Christian supervision of the wild tribes allowed him to fall, had met with the expected success. Prosperity and self-respect were returning to the Pueblos. But the newly awakened appreciation of Indian art was having this inevitable result—all the old, most excellent examples of it were being bought up by museums and private collectors, more often by mere casual tourists, who carried priceless pieces out of the country to an oblivion of private dispossession from which they might never be rescued. Soon there would be nothing left by which the Indian Pueblo potters could refresh their inspiration and criticize their own output.

One of the determining distinctions between primitive and sophisticated societies is that the wisdom of the primitive is all handed down by variable and easily interrupted oral tradition. There are no books, museums, or other means of embodying the gains of primitive society, such as are enjoyed by more advanced civilizations. The Pueblos had, in the past, something that served as a consolidation of the experience of their ancients, in the ruined houses and graves of their ancestors. In prehistoric time, if for any reason such as failure of water, exhaustion of the soil, epidemic sickness or liability to hostile attack, a townsite became untenable, the population of that town rose over night and left it, often with all its pottery—as being too perishable to carry easily—standing on the hearth and in the accustomed niche. Pots, ritually "killed" but otherwise perfect, were also placed in and about the graves of the dead. Thus in their great tribal treks, which made a circuit within the bounds already described, the Puebleños were continually coming upon excellent and informing examples of the works of their ancients. Possibly this incidental substitute for the museum, had something to do with the sustained quality of Pueblo design. But now ruins are being searched, graves opened, the whole country combed by a new type of "pot hunters" who often destroy as much as they take away. With nothing to feed the stream of living tradition, it became quickly evident that the decorative quality of native design would grow thin, lose interest and value. So, in the fall of 1922, out of the whole cloth of this realization on the part of the artist friends of the Indians, in the desire to preserve for them and for us the treasure of an unexplored but still living and authentic art, the Indian Arts Fund simply appeared.

On a day when Elsie Sergeant came in from Zuñi with a lovely *tinaja,* which had become broken in transit and was about to be thrown away by the servant, the idea of an Indian museum for Indians was born. The *tinaja* was skillfully patched together; other examples were added to it by purchase; everybody who had a really illustrative example offered it as a contribution. Interested visitors, introduced to the incipient collection, temporarily deposited in the basement of the state museum, added to the potentiality of the fund. What a thrill there was on the days when Mrs. Meredith Hare and Irene Lewisohn each left one hundred dollars in the hands of the trustees! A hundred dollars will go a long way in the hands of experienced collectors who, having already established working relations with the Indians, were allowed to search the Pueblos for priceless heirlooms, sacred vessels of extinct cults, hundred-year-old storage jars from forgotten, dark, subterranean chambers. Many valuable pieces were also recovered in the little mud-walled Spanish towns, where they had been for generations in the hands of long-established colonial families. The Indians themselves entered with gusto into the search. Two authentic pieces from the abandoned pueblo of old Pecos came to light; another from Pojoaque. Jemez—which has made no pottery except coarse cooking pots, for three hundred years—dug up the root of its ancient craft and produced a group of *tinajas* decorated according to its veridical tradition. Local collectors turned in what they had; curio dealers yielded to the spell and contributed many notable examples which came into their hands. An offer of a suitable museum site was added to the fund. All together, the Santa Fe collection has become the most complete and illuminating exhibition of aboriginal ceramics in existence.



Examples of Pueblo Indian art: Above, an Acoma jar with bird design. At the left, a typical Zuñi deer design; at right, an ancient Zuñi water jar, about 1500 A. D. Below, a fine example of polychrome jar from San Ildefonso.

The plan of the slightly organized but perfectly coordinated group behind the Indian Art Fund—coordinated by knowledge and appreciation—is to collect first the threatened examples of the historic period of Pueblo decorative art. The completion of the prehistoric record can be made later. There are still untouched ruins and secret graves, many unrifled repositories of the past.

The historic period begins with the discovery (by the

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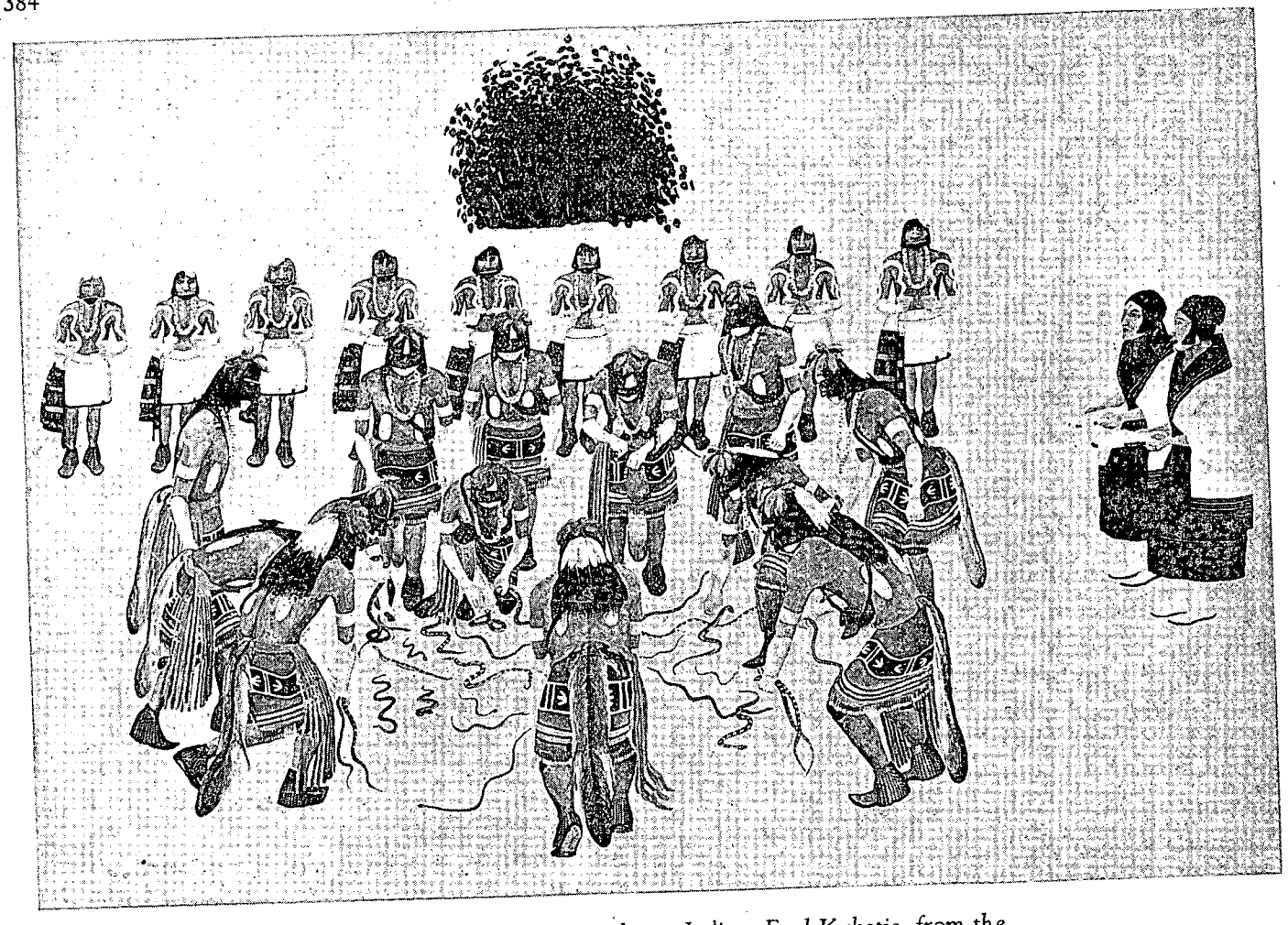

Hopi snake dance. Painting by an Indian, Fred Kabotie, from the exhibition of Corona Mundi, International Art Center, New York

Puebleños about the time of the Spanish *entrada*) of a flat, unglazed pigment, easily applied, perfectly controlled in the firing. The earliest potters had experimented with glazes, through a series of six easily recognizable formulas, none of which was entirely satisfactory. These glazes were never applied to the whole surface of the vessel, but only as a medium of decoration, and as such were lumpy and blurred at the edges, a source of annoyance to the orderly and ritualistically minded aboriginal. Moreover, the clumsiness of the medium restricted the decorative scheme to broad bands and blunt masses. And all this time the Mongol-minded Puebleño was longing for delicate line and sweeping curve. His need—a deep-seated human need—for a more expressive medium, led him to the discovery of various colored native earths, mixed in some cases with vegetable juices, which could be applied with the fluency and precision of India ink. Indeed, the black slip, composed chiefly of burnt earth and the sap of the Rocky Mountain bee plant, with which designs are drawn on red and white surfaces, resembles surprisingly the medium of the Chinese artist. But the chief advantage of these applied slips was that they would fire without alteration of their quality or defacement of the design. After this discovery and invention, the expansion of Pueblo ceramics was in the direction of the evolution of design rather than manufacturing technique. Within a few generations, decoration passed from simple, rather thick lines and geometric mass, to delicate cross-hatching and intricate subtle curves. Probably the invasion of white life, with its iron and other metal pots and pans, had something to do with the restriction of form to the few aboriginal utensils for which the kettles of the white man afforded no acceptable substitute. In some of the older ruins and cliff dwellings, a much greater variety and invention of form are indicated than can be found in the pueblos today. But the art of decoration as an expression of the decorator's inner thought, received scarcely any check until the pressure of white life had all but destroyed the Indian's self-respect and the native sources of inspiration from within. Correspondingly, the recent revival of interest in Indian art has been followed by new shoots of decorative endeavor, putting forth leaf and flower.

PERHAPS the most intriguing aspect of Amerind design is that, though scholarly minds are at work upon the problem, we have as yet no more than an inkling of its inner law. Because all racial decorative schemes have so far shown a progressive relation to the evolving tribal consciousness by which, quite apart from local influences, we are able to recognize them as distinctively Egyptian or Etruscan or Mycenean, we confidently assume that there is some such native principle governing the progressions of American Indian decoration. That each of the twenty-three pueblos has, with practically the same elements, arrived at distinctions which enable the collector to place a single specimen as Santo Domingo, Sia or Cochiti, we know at sight, without knowing very much about the interior process by which the distinction was achieved. The elements of Pueblo design, abstracted from familiar aspects of nature,

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fall into four general groups: skysigns, such as sun, moon, clouds and falling rain; earth signs—mountains, trees, animals, the growing corn; air signs—birds, butterflies, lightning, the plumed serpent, guardian of the springs. The fourth group—of what we might call geometrical elements, which can in almost every case be shown to be conventionalized and more completely abstracted derivatives of the first three—stands for ideas, such as the universe, the way of life, the life force. But this is scarcely a beginning, since, in the process of reduction of a unit of aboriginal design to what is modernly called significant form, a bird may be reduced to a feather, a beak, a crest, or a mere essential bird line. A plant is present in its leaf form, a cactus in its spine, the great corn plant in a row of dots for grains, a fructifying storm in a cloud curve, with a straight line for falling rain. Even when you have recognized it, you will not know whether the highly conventionalized bird element is really meant for a bird or for a prayer, since all the creatures of the air are messengers and mediators between gods and men; or whether the butterfly design is a butterfly or the spirit of pollination. All you can be certain about is that the relations of all these elements are controlled by Indian truth and logic.

I do not mean to say that every decoration arises from an original perception of truth, or that every detail can be made to render up an item of esoteric symbolism. Designs are handed down in families or are personally selected on grounds of taste and tradition without any reference to their psychological source. But when the aboriginal potter works from an original creative impulse, he works in the language of an aboriginal interpretation of a completely interdependent and responsive universe in which birds and thoughts fly to and fro between earth and heaven, and lightning is a plumed serpent as near to the source of sky waters as the snake of the desert is to the infrequent waterholes.

The writer, whose study has been more about aboriginal poetry than about pots, feels certain that the psychological progressions governing the aesthetic of Pueblo design will be found to be much like the progressions of Chinese poetry, by which truth is approached or apprehended through a series of analogies, each one so apt that its charmingly circuitous route is finally seen to be the shortest way home. For the soul of the American Indian, far deeper than his American experience, witnesses to Mongol derivations. Something of this is shown in the Indian's skill at occupying space without filling it, at which the Chinese are past masters, and in the treatment of space as of equal value with the mass of the design.

Another device of the Pueblo potter to secure that balanced distribution of mass and space which satisfies his own aesthetic demand, is to cut into the body of the design with decorative elements of less representative value—cross-hatching, or one of his characteristic abstractions, such as the world altar, or the checquer-board pattern which symbolizes the ritualistic "middle" where it is his immemorial quest to dwell. In this practice there are certain analogies to the ancient Chinese trick of painting an ideograph inside of the body of a design. But this Mongol suggestion must not be pushed too far. What stands out most clearly in the most surpassing examples, is a free, direct response to an American environment, as in the design of interlacing leaves of corn, black on white.

TO Kenneth Chapman, who has devoted more time to it than any other, we owe most of the light we have on Pueblo aesthetics. Among his interesting discoveries is one in which the relation of the parts of a design are themselves ritualized into a pattern which may or may not be symbolic. An arrangement in which two similar wings of a design open out from a central axis, is called a butterfly design. Recently, Julio of San Ildefonso produced a Tewa cosmogony of the most-used units of Tewa design, arranged as a bird. Another popular arrangement might be called The Universe, since it pivots about the checker-board

Hopi basket dance. Painting by the Indian, Fred Kabotie, from the exhibition of Corona Mundi, International Art Center, New York

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Design from an old Zia jar

Amerind and American

The radiant color, entrancing light and year-round working conditions have made Santa Fe a center for modern artists as well as for the descendants of ancient and even prehistoric potters and designers.

Courtesy the Kraushaar Galleries, New York

Grotesques, Santo Domingo dance. Painting by John Sloan

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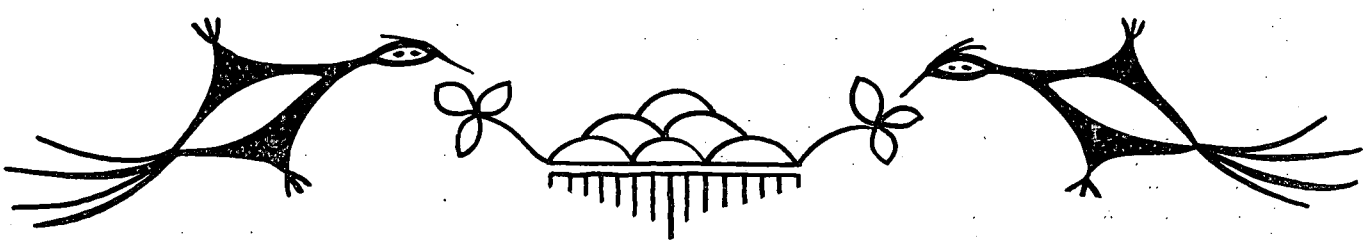
Photograph by Peter A. Juley & Son

Taos woman in blue. Painting by Ernest L. Blumenschein



Birds, flowers, clouds and falling rain. From pottery decoration of Cochiti Pueblo

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abstraction of that idea, and parts in fours for the four winds, the four sacred directions, the four sacred meal roads, the four world altars, the sources of divine "medicine." These are but hints of the aesthetic principles to be unravelled from a decorative system rooted in a philosophy of a completely living and communicable universe, in which no one yet ventures on a consecutive or final reading. The field is still one of open adventure.

Although the members of the local organization known as the Indian Arts Fund, began with Pueblo pottery as being the most in need of rescue of all Southwestern aboriginal arts, they are quite as much interested in the pottery of other Southwestern tribes, Pima and Papago and Maricopa; in the basketry and bead work of the Apaches; and the blankets of Navajo. But, although the members of the fund—for they have funded their time and experience—have performed prodigies of exploration in search of pieces for their collection, the Southwest is a large place. Several European kingdoms could be tucked away in it without jostling each other. Collecting is difficult and expensive, and many regions are still practically untouched. And as the collectors worked, more and more the living quality of the Indian arts came home to them, so that much time and labor has been spent in assisting the Indians themselves to recreate their ancient crafts. Always it must be borne in mind that the primary object of the collection is not merely to anticipate their complete demise but to keep the arts alive. So constructive has this purpose become that when at last, out of a clear sky, the offer came from a projected museum of Southwestern interests, to take over and suitably house their collection, the little group of enthusiasts had the integrity to say that they would accept such a cooperative arrangement only on condition that Indian art be understood as a going concern, and that establishing field workers among living Indians should become part of the work of the museum. As soon as this undertaking can be put on a working basis, which will not be for two or three years yet, new areas of activity will be opened up to creative exploration. We have all been astounded at the richness of the vein of decorative and representative art which has been so easily tapped. A few of us venture to suggest that the fields of music and poetry, dance and drama properly worked will prove equally rewarding. It is occasionally necessary to remind the people of the United States that all the great cultures of the past have possessed a native treasure of aboriginal art, owning no influence but that of the native environment. Greece had it, Egypt and England. Now we are to have it here.

The projected Museum of Indian Arts for Indians will be an immense advantage as stimulating the Indian's own decorative talents but its contribution to the evolving American aesthetic can not be overrated. Thanks to the hard work done by less than a score of people, the "sacred middle" from which an important and enduring institution might arise is already established at Santa Fe. The sustaining group has been consolidated, appropriate housing with scientific attention is ultimately secure. But the present Indian Arts Foundation can function only in the Southwest. There is need of a nation-wide movement. Many of the government schools, and most of the missionary schools, are still suppressing everything natively Indian, in the hope of infecting them with so-called Americanism. Incredible as it may seem, there are Indian girls in schools forbidden to work at the embroideries of their grandmothers, and encouraged to learn Irish crochet; Indian boys who are kept at the inanities of fifth-grade colored crayons; and all of them forbidden to sing their native songs, much less to compose them, in order that they may learn Columbia the Gem of the Ocean, and Jesus Loves Me. There are also many elders, men and women both, repositories of the secrets of many ancient arts—of pottery slips, vegetable dyes, methods of weaving, systems of design—who are dying, dumb with hearthbreak, whose wisdom could be saved to the younger generations for, literally, a *few* dollars. If there are no Indians arts in your own states to be rescued, come over into the land of the "sacred middle" and help us.

Desert Altars

I

This desert we see is a mask;
There are shapes that move here, invisible.
High noon, impassive,
Drops sun-seed and pollen into the waiting sand.
Blue twilight piles mesas and pinnacles
Into high head-dresses and waving plumes,
And the brown flanks of the dancers
Ripple and change with a steady motion:
Earth sags to the beat
Of the insistent drum.
Night, pierced with a monotonous broken chant,
Brings wide black *ollas* of dreaming silence.

II

Walk with me under the cloud-cliffs,
Under the White Rock house in the canyon;
Here we are lost in time, and eternity
Sits like a small bird poised on the edge of the mesa . . . .

Beyond, on the last ridge of the sky,
Bronze shadows ride
Into the sunset.

What is the song of the desert?
What is the drum-beat under the silence?

The bronze shadows go; but they remain.
We pass them, but they stay . . . .

How many moons have washed these walls?
How many moons have these cedars
Clung to the earth for a foothold?
How many moons shall we
Walk silent among these cedars—
Shadow against shadow?

The gods here endure
Longer than sun-touched stone;
Altars of moonlight and desert sun
Lift feathered plumes in the silence.

—*Alice Corbin*

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Hammering at the Prison Door

By JOHN COLLIER

An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization.

WITH this opening statement the Institute for Government Research challenges American and world attention to a situation, which ten specialists then discuss in 847 printed pages. Seven months of field work and eight months of office work went into the report. The Interior Department asked for the study to be made, was consulted throughout its progress, and reviewed the document before publication. A conservatism of tone, a euphemism which at times seems ironical, an avoidance, even, of some desperate challenges: These incidents strengthen, not weaken, a total effect from which the survey staff have not flinched.

That effect is an indictment of America's official handling of a race forcibly held in tutelage. It is an indictment of the present, not the past. Since Helen Hunt Jackson's The Century of Dishonor, published forty-five years ago, no document in Indian affairs has been as important, and none (because of all the circumstances of the present report) as challenging, humiliating and horrifying.

This review is not a eulogy of the institute's report. Some great deficiencies, as the writer sees them, will be pointed out. But to Indians and their friends the report is enormously important. It destroys forever the official pretense that Indians are rich and growing richer; that Indian health is being attended to; that Indian education is being provided; that Indian family life and human dignity are being encouraged or tolerated. It does something more useful (for the Indian Bureau's pangloss propaganda has already been checked through exposures in Congress, and here the institute's report does but perfect a work already done). This more important service is an application of modern standards to Indian medical service and vital statistics, schooling, agricultural training, domestic guidance, industrial placement, and so on. And on the assumption that a will toward improvement exists, or might arise and might become a controlling preoccupation in the Indian service, the report sketches how, in the light of modern experience, that will toward improvement might redeem the situation. The prescription is incomplete; and the existence of the will toward improvement is assumed rather than asserted by the report; and the factors economic and political which always until now have extinguished the will toward improvement, and whose dominance now is greater than ever before, are hardly hinted in the report. But here, and for the first time authoritatively assembled, are the analyses and the prescriptions. Let others, whose proper freedom of action is greater, provide the rest.

Plunging into the heart of this enormous book: The government boarding schools for Indian children are a crossroads of all Indian problems. Attendance is compulsory, because by law Indians must go to school and for 27,000 children none but boarding schools are provided. The report summarizes, page 192:

1. The Indian children in boarding schools are generally below normal in health as compared with standards for white children.
2. The appropriations for food for these children are not sufficient to secure for them a suitable, balanced diet for well children, much less for children whose health is below normal.
3. The boarding schools are generally crowded beyond their capacity so that the individual child does not have sufficient light and air.
4. The boarding-school dormitories are generally of the congregate institutional type so that those who are below par in health cannot be isolated from the others. Contagious diseases under these circumstances have almost free scope.
5. The normal day at the boarding schools, with its marked industrial features, is a heavy day even for well, strong children. Added to an insufficiency of diet and overcrowding, it may be an explanation of the low general health among children in Indian boarding schools.

From summary to specification. On page 327: "The average allowance of food per capita (in all the boarding schools) is eleven cents a day, exclusive of the value of the food secured from the school farm. The amount varies greatly. It permits a few schools, a very few, to approach a reasonable standard."

(*Continued on page* 402)

Photo by J. R. Willis

The silversmith's daughter

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Courtesy Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries

BANANA VENDOR

Painting in oil by James Chapin

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Our Hidden Cities

And the American Zest for Discovery

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

EXPLORATION, settlement, community building, are three great rhythms in the pioneer epoch of a new country. The spirit of discovery leads men to welcome change as a natural experience and to share in it; that leads in turn to faith in human volition as something which can shape and direct change. The frontiersman finds a wilderness and leaves a rudimentary civilization, made up to be sure of the warp and woof of the societies from which he springs; but his spirit of discovery and his zest for fashioning life run like shuttles carrying the threads of new patterns.

Once our Western frontier in the United States was more or less settled, and once the movement of population under the urge of a mounting industrialism had turned back upon our cities, these shuttles have helped weave the fabric of our new urban districts. Both the spirit of discovery and the zest for fashioning life motivate us in applying social research to community progress. Their interplay, on the one hand, has given a dynamic quality to such research; on the other hand, it has more and more engaged scientific inquiry as a basis for thinking, planning and volition.

They are new tools with us—our team-plays in applied research. Their invention, adaptation or employment has come for the most part in the first quarter of the new century—and the inventing process is still going on. We have had difficulties in creating them; and in a way those difficulties have sharpened the tools.

Thus the industrial revolution which with us swept forward in the decades following the Civil War, caught Americans unprepared and exacted a wretched human toll before we could devise such slender measures of social control as we have so far achieved. But its very belatedness may be regarded as a stroke of fortune. The heavy work of clearing a continent and spanning it with rails had much of it been done; the bloody work of ending slavery and cementing the union was over. Industrialism and urbanization came to a head at the turn of the century, when tremendous advances were going forward in communication, when science was spreading new powers and hopes among the children of men, and when the world over, John Galsworthy was to hail "a great visiting wind sweeping into the house of our lives through a hundred doors." Early projects in social research in the United States were both a consequence of a mounting social spirit in the American democracy, and a contribution to it. The rapid sweep of corporate business which crashed the gates of our old individualism and left a great wake of rankled feelings along with its scrap of life and limb, forced men to reexamine the social institutions they had relied on, and gave a critical edge to investigations, an insurgent temper to our social movements.

At the same time our objective outlook and bent for improvization—the despair of those who hold to central philosophies of life—did not lend themselves to the spread of dogmatic movements among us. Rather they spurred us to study things close at hand and work out and up from these. Half unconsciously in our social engineering we thus got in step with the inductive methods of the natural sciences. Our federal censuses every ten years threw no light on some of the things which bothered us most, but this challenged us to invent sampling processes and techniques of swift inquiry to satisfy the American penchant for measuring ills as well as goods in figures. The social sciences were for long the Cinderellas of our universities and colleges; and it was not until toward the end of the nineteenth century that they gathered strength as professional bodies. This delayed the development of social research, but at the same time, guarded its beginnings from academic cramp. The cordial reception given university men by practical workers in this early period has made for healthful cooperation ever since.

Meanwhile our very inexperience as builders of cities and dwellers therein, coupled with the tremendous influx of immigration, brought down on our communities a rain of evils; so many, and so contemporaneous, that the sheer necessities of the situation ultimately called for rounded schemes for studying them and grappling with them. The very fact that our municipal governments were weak reeds to lean on led to the spontaneous development of a great variety of voluntary efforts, which attacked problems from various angles. Moreover the division of powers and decentralization of our scheme of government which interfered with federal action, threw back upon states, communities and citizens the responsibility for initiative, and made not only for what William James once called "wise provincialism" but for freedom for experiment and study in a thousand laboratories.

And further and fundamentally, though our growing pains and dishevelment has been the price we have paid for the lack of enlightened despotism, a situation in which men must look to themselves for relief has made public education the key to constructive action. It has impelled us not only to get at facts but to make them common knowledge as reinforcements to self-reliance and democracy.

Our European Indebtedness

WHILE our impulses toward self-study and common action thus had springs in our history as a pioneering people, we have tapped European sources—notably English, German and French. It was from England that the charity organization movement had spread to the United States by the eighties, bringing in its technique of investigation of the individual case. It expanded the conception of a hungry or sick person, needing food or medicine, to a family in distress, calling for an all-round diagnosis of the causes, and an all-round application of the resources of the community to relief and rehabilitation. Unlike their English prototypes, these societies, under the lead of Edward T. Devine, came to study their cases as clues to social action. By the nineties, some of our students had come back from the

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German universities, fired by the inductive method in broaching social and economic problems, no less than those of the natural sciences. These inductive methods and the specialization that went with them characterized a federal study of the slums of great cities, under Carroll D. Wright, and other investigations of the time. Again, in the same period ardent young Americans like Jane Addams caught the fire of the settlement movement as it kindled under Canon Barnett in the East End of London and felt the driving force implicit in the work of inquiry of the Webbs, of Booth and Rowntree. Through them the neighborhood no less than the family, the immigrant no less than the poor, the sense of democratic adventure no less than philanthropic concern, stretched the scope of social work and of the social research which it set going, such as the Hull House Maps and Papers.

Again, it was Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus that not only galvanized interest in preventive medicine, and became the basis of health projects in which physicians, nurses and laymen joined forces, but also refreshed the whole social movement. Here was an ancient scourge of mankind, here science was exploding its horrors with a charge of hope; here investigation, planning, public education, provision, prevention, formed a sequence from research to control, and fortified men in the belief that the human spirit could assert itself over circumstance, that democracies by taking thought might cure themselves of some of their ills.

So it was that in the first ten years of the new century, many of our national social movements had their inception, linking research with action. If in a thousand cases coming to a social agency one causal factor recurred again and again, that factor was made the subject for special study as a prelude to attack upon it. It was studied not as an abstract problem but in terms of the lives of the people. Thus housing movements had their inception, health movements, movements to eradicate sweatshops, child labor, night work for women, and the like. Cost of living and family budgets were studied as basic to the social policy of relief agencies and under the leadership of Florence Kelley and the Misses Goldmark the Consumers' League gathered the massed evidence which Louis Brandeis put before the U. S. Supreme Court in briefs that reversed earlier decisions and opened the way for progressive labor legislation.

The Pittsburgh Survey

THE Pittsburgh Survey* of 1907-8 may be said to have brought together on a common stage the experience and methodology of these specialized lines of research.

It was the first of our community surveys—an appraisal, if you will, of how far human engineering had kept pace with mechanical in the American steel district. It made no pretensions to paralleling Booth's monumental work on the Life and Labour of the People of London. The money spent on it was no more than that laid out today for the study of a segment of some social problem. The work was fragmentary; its technique experimental. But as a working scheme it exhibited certain of the factors which have proved their worth in our applied research and in its combination of those factors it broke fresh ground.

This American development, in gathering and examining the skein of community life, quite spontaneously and independently took shape along lines kindred not so much to German or English prototypes as to French. The findings of the Pittsburgh Survey as first brought out in magazine form, were handled in three units under the titles: The People, The Place, The Work—the trilogy which LePlay had formulated and which Patrick Geddes has developed with such genius from his native Scotland to India.

The term survey was at the time new to social investigation, although curiously enough the Normans had applied it to the census of Saxon wealth and folk which they wrote up in the Doomsday Book. Pittsburgh presented a cross-section of that industrial and urban frontier which as we have seen has been the seed-bed of our community research. Looking back, what were some of the factors entering into the project?

I. SYNTHESIS:

As a first step The Pittsburgh Survey enlisted in the swift inventory of a single community, men and women who were known nationally as experts in their specialized fields. Thus it brought to bear on one city the experience of a score of cities which had excelled at one point or another, and so supplied elements for a composite standard. Such a group appraisal offered a structural exhibit of the community as a going concern. Here the attempt was made to gain something by envisioning at once the city proper, its manufacturing suburbs, its regional background; to comprehend civic and industrial conditions at the same time; to reckon with the interrelation of major factors entering into the life of such an urban area and—kindred to the approach of the *Gestalt* philosophers—see any situation against the matrix in which it was embedded.

The procedure brought the resources of cognate professions to bear on common problems that interested them all. The staff included social workers, engineers, lawyers, city planners, sanitarians, physicians, statisticians, economists, labor investigators and the like. It was on the borderlands between the ordinary divisions of inquiry that some of the most valuable results were obtained.

II. ANALYSIS:

The effort to grasp social conditions, problems and institutions in terms of an urban area had its counterpart in efforts to put these things to the test of distinctly human measurement. This was the second bench mark of the Pittsburgh Survey. Here a leaf was taken out of the methodology of charitable agencies in their case records as to the dependent segment of our populations, that social diagnosis which Mary E. Richmond has lifted to an art, but the inquiry was spread out to cover the wage-earning belt and the general citizenship. The field work was done in railroad yards and mill towns, sweatshops and great manufacturing plants; in courts, hospitals and settlements. The investigators talked with priests and labor leaders, superintendents, claim agents and labor bosses, landlords, housewives, butchers and bakers—the workers themselves and those who lived close to them. The staff itself included members of the immigrant races who make up so large a share of the working population. And through it all the very fact that Pittsburgh had little collected data, forced on the survey the necessity for working out units for gauging the life and labor of the district. Instead of relying solely on the abstract presentation of problems, or colorless statistical tabulations, the effort was made to elicit syllables of common experience. Thus Margaret Byington took up residence in Homestead and with assistants enlisted the cooperation of ninety families in keeping household budgets that epitomized home life at the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled income levels. Thus the human cost of typhoid fever which had been endemic in the district for thirty-five years, was with the help of visitors and nurses, visualized by Frank E. Wing in terms of what it meant in one year to the households living in six wards of the city—with their 448 cases, their 2,223 weeks of lost wages, their hospital charges, doctors' bills, nurses' fees; costs of ice, foods, medicines—mounting up $56,253. Thus, beginning with the coroner's office and working out to homes and plants, it was learned that 526 men had been killed at their work in the mines and mills and factories of this one American county in twelve months; and that an equal number of injured men had been cared for in the hospitals in three months. These thousand cases were (*Continued on page* 409)

* The Pittsburgh Survey was carried out by Charities and the Commons (now The Survey, itself a cooperative project of American social work) in collaboration with national and local organizations and under grants totalling $26,500 from the Russell Sage Foundation which subsequently published its findings in six volumes: The Pittsburgh District (civic conditions); Wage-Earning Pittsburgh; Women and the Trades (Butler); Homestead, the Households of a Mill Town (Byington); Work Accidents and the Law (Eastman); The Steel Workers (Fitch).

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Who Is Amelia Earhart?

By MARION PERKINS

A TALL, slender, boyish-looking young woman walked into my office in the early fall of 1926. She wanted a job and a part-time one would do, for she was giving courses in English under the university extension. Most of her classes were in factories in Lynn and other industrial towns near Boston. She had had no real experience in social work but she wanted to try it, and before I knew it I had engaged her for half-time work at Denison House. She had poise and charm. I liked her quiet sense of humor, the frank direct look in her gray eyes. This young woman was Amelia Earhart, who as I write may be taking off from Trepassey Bay in Newfoundland to be the first woman to fly across the Atlantic.

It was some time before any of us at Denison House knew that Amelia had flown. After driving with her in the "Yellow Peril," her own Kissel roadster, I knew that she was an expert driver, handling her car with ease, yes more than that, with an artistic touch. She has always seemed to me an unusual mixture of the artist and the practical person.

A young woman of thirty plunges into the most dramatic adventure of a lifetime—because she seeks "release from little things"—yet decides, after weighing the values, that she wants, on her return, to stay in social work. The strangeness is not in what to a layman seems an incongruity, but in the fact that here is a social worker who sees her profession not as a dull routine of trivialities, but in itself a great adventure calling for courage—"the price that life exacts for granting peace."

Her first year at Denison House she had general direction of the evening school for foreign-born men and women. She did little teaching herself, but did follow-up work in the homes, so necessary to the success of such an undertaking. In her report of her year's work after we had planned her next year's program, which did not include the evening school, she wrote: "I shall try to keep my contact with the women who have come to class; Mrs. S. and her drunken husband, Mrs. F.'s struggle to get her husband here, Mrs. Z. to get her papers in the face of odds, all are problems that are hard to relinquish after a year's friendship."

In the spring of 1927, Denison House was giving a country carnival for the benefit of the house. For such a good cause, Amelia consented to fly over Boston and drop publicity dodgers. She first said that she would do this if her name could be kept out of the papers! We had to use some persuasion to keep her from flying incognito. The first day of the carnival, the Boston police up and down Boylston and Tremont Streets were perhaps too amazed to try to arrest a man and woman, apparently Italian peasants just landed, who drove back and forth in a queer yellow car, stopping now and then to grind a tune on a battered hand-organ and to distribute hand bills.

The organ grinder was Amelia Earhart.

Youth, keeping a heart, a soul and a body that are wide open to all the rich opportunities of life—that is part of Amelia's creed. How many times I have heard her say that, to her, one of the biggest jobs of the social worker in a settlement is just that—to give boys and girls the experiences that will keep them young and that will develop a zest for life. Last fall, she came to Denison House as a resident and as a full-time staff worker. She has directed the work of girls from five to fourteen years and has had general charge of the pre-kindergarten. Jokingly we have sometimes called Amelia the "official secretary," for she is the secretary of the staff, of the Board of Directors (to which she was elected this year) and to the House Committee of the board. She has an unusual flair, in a meeting, for the gist of the thought and expresses herself in writing with accuracy and originality. Last year and this, Amelia has been a member of an inter-settlement committee working on child-study records.

She herself made studies of children that show her keen insight into child life. Here are sentences taken from her record of a seven-year-old boy. "Ferris is fond of making experiments of various kinds. How far can the pencil be moved before it falls? How high can the chairs be piled before spilling? He conceived the idea on a cold day of 'warming' his little sister's beads on his father's stove. That the beads were hot enough to burn the child when she put them on was not part of the experiment."

"Where is Miss Earhart now?" "Is she still flying?" "Gee, I hope she beats that other woman." These and hundreds of other questions greet us on Tyler Street. "Is she coming back soon?" "I couldn't sleep last night thinking about her flying." The day she told me of the trans-Atlantic project, and swore me to secrecy, she said, "And I'll be back for summer school. I have weighed the values and I want to stay in social work." Her simplicity, her honesty, her complete lack of any quality that makes for sensationalism—this is Amelia Earhart. A few days after the flight project was under way, a dinner guest at Denison House, who was learning to fly at the East Boston Airport, told of the big Fokker monoplane that Byrd was "to fly to the Antartic"; just a quiet twinkle across the room to me from Amelia's eyes, and afterwards an infectious chuckle as we enjoyed the incident together. One day last year, after a discussion of L. P. Jacks' lectures on The Challenge of Life, she handed me some verses. Here they are, more appropriate at this time than any words I can write:

Courage is the price that Life exacts for granting peace.
The soul that knows it not, knows no release
From little things:
Knows not the livid loneliness of fear,
Nor mountain heights where bitter joy can hear
The sound of wings.
How can Life grant us boon of living, compensate
For dull gray ugliness and pregnant hate
Unless we dare
The soul's dominion? Each time we make a choice, we pay
With courage to behold resistless day,
And count it fair.

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On the Limitations of Nineveh

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

WITH a certain bitterness the English woman had informed me that "in practically every country in the world except England and Australia they drive on the wrong side of the road." I acquired the idea intellectually, if you get what I mean, but it didn't seem to do me any good. I was always looking carefully down the street to my left, seeing the way clear, and—stepping forth with the confidence of a little child directly under the wheels of an onrushing avalanche of traffic! I have been called, by enraged bus and taxi drivers, things that I didn't know existed! I learned in London extravagances of objurgatory conversation that made my hitherto adequate vocabulary sound like nursery rhymes.

But it remained for a traffic-cop—yes, a "Bobby" (constables, they call them)—to deal the *coup de grace* to my hundred-per-cent American complacency. Extricating me from the midst of a shouting tangle of traffic, somewhere about Piccadilly Circus, he remarked, solemnly, as he landed me on the safe side of the "kerb":

"Do you know, sir, there yn't a blind dog in all London as 'asn't learned more about crossing streets than you."

"Thank you, Officer—excuse me, I mean Constable. You'll have to forgive me. I'm not used to this left-hand traffic. I'm an American." The form at least was apologetic.

"You don't 'ave to tell me that, sir. My gray 'airs is mostly from pickin' Americans out of the way of buses. I should think you all 'ailed from Nineveh."

I WENT on, settling my ruffled plumage as best I might, and wondering what suburb of London might go by the name of Nineveh. I had not seen the word on any of the buses. I knew Wormwood Scrubs, and—suddenly I was stopped short in my tracks by a thought. A submerged memory surged up—Nineveh! Wasn't there a chap named Jonah who had a scunner against a place called that? A story in the Bible—but what would a London policeman know about the Bible? I found it later. Last verse in the Book of Jonah:

. . . Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand. . . .

That was bad enough; but the sting was in its tail:

. . . *and also much cattle.*

Many times I searched for that Bobby; but I never could find him. I meant to ask him which part of the allusion he intended to apply to me.

IT'S the small things that matter most. One can adjust bravely to cataclysms. The first time I went away from home to visit relatives, when I was a little boy, I was desperately homesick. It wasn't the distance from home; that didn't matter. And my grandparents, aunts and uncles were more than kind to me. It was an interesting place, and there were fascinating things to do. The thing that galled my soul was *the soap*. I had no special prejudice against soap in general; we had soap at home, and long since I had reconciled myself to the presence of soap in the world, as countless other children have had to do. It was not soap *per se*.

But this soap was in *spherical* cakes, while the cakes of soap to which I was accustomed were flat. And the color and odor were unfamiliar. I knew very well that no normal persons, suitable for little boys to associate with, would have spherical cakes of soap. 'Twas an outlandish custom, and my soul revolted against it. Other questionable customs they had, but this soap business was worst, intolerable symbol of them all. It was years before I could view spherical soap with complacency; to this day it is alien to something deepseated.

Duffy in the Baltimore Sun

"I'll say so!"

IN a London hotel, one morning at breakfast, I saw a man, evidently a native, staring at me with frankly indignant disapproval. I saw him remark upon me to the waiter, who afterward told me what he said:

"Look at that Yankee beast, putting pepper on his egg!"

This is the kind of irritation that embitters international relations; makes great nations hate each other!

OF COURSE, there are larger, deeper things that underlie harsh judgments of our

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neighbors of other lands. That English woman who remarked upon traffic rules was unconsciously holding me personally responsible for what the War did to her; for our tardiness of participation. I did not know that when I asked, concerning the rain which had been incessant for days:

"Is this the regular summer in England? I am anxious to know, because I've got to stay here all summer."

"Got to?" she snapped. "Are there no steamers going to America?"

We got better acquainted; eventually she almost forgave my being American. She told me that in the neighborhood of her home before the War there had been, including her own three sons, twenty-four young men who used to come there to play tennis and otherwise disport themselves. And now, of that whole joyous company remained three—one a war-cripple, one physically disqualified for military service. Only one left all in one piece; and he not of her sons. All three of the sons were killed; her husband died of grief.

"I was expecting to hear you say, 'America won the War,'" she said. "That is why I could not bear to hear you criticize even our weather."

IN an Italian railroad train, going from Florence to Venice, an American party were commenting in my hearing upon the Italians.

"You can't make Americans out of 'em," one of the men was saying. "They haven't the intelligence, to begin with. We've got to have things like the Ku Klux to keep all those kind of people from getting control of the country."

A lot more of that sort of thing, in the land—the very region—of Galileo and Marconi, before the man turned to ask me:

"Do you know what that stuff is on those mountains—that white powder?"

"Why, it's snow. It was cold last night, and those mountains are fairly high. What did you think it was?"

"Well, I thought it might be snow, but that fool guide we had—he was blowing about having lived five years in Chicago, and I had to put him in his place—he said it was some kind of fertilizer that they use on the vineyards. Besides, I didn't know they had snow in Italy."

"Water freezes here as it does anywhere else," I said. "Under the same conditions."

"Not until the thermometer drops to zero. This guide showed me one of their thermometers and said that zero was the freezing-point."

I DIDN'T bother to tell him about the Centigrade thermometer, but I did tell him about the woman on the ship in the Aegean Sea—it seemed fitting:

"What is that against the sky?" she asked the captain.

"That is land, madame. Mountains."

"Yes, I know; but that white stuff on the mountains?"

"Why, that is snow. What did you think?"

"Well, I thought it might be snow; but I asked the chief steward, and he said it was *grease!*"

"He was just kidding her," the tourist assured me.

MORNINGS in Santa Margherita di Ligure we used to go down into the Piazza at eleven o'clock every day to hear the municipal orchestra (supported out of the public funds, mind you) playing the finest music; playing it as well as you can hear it anywhere in Italy. The square was always crowded, and you could see women hanging out of the windows to listen. If I should tell you about the big collie dog that was always looking out of one of those windows you would not believe me; besides, I do not know what dogs listen to.

There were always little children sitting on the steps of the platform, or standing quietly in front of the rows of people. I remember one woman who always brought her baby, and I have seen the baby's tiny foot moving to the cadence of the music.

I have searched my memory in vain for a place in my own country where a municipal orchestra plays the world's best music, at public expense in the public square of the town every morning.

THESE somewhat random memories and reflections come to me as I write on a ship, bound for Germany. Among them comes also recollection of a woman I know, a brilliant, big-hearted woman, instant in every good work, who had a wonderful—I am told a quite unique—collection of the scores of German music, made during many years of visits to Germany. At the outbreak of the War, I believe long before the United States went into it, she burned every sheet of it. Telling me about this terrific act of retribution, she added:

"It is the shame of my life—I don't know what to do about it—that I know the German language!"

It seemed to me, even in those hysterical days, that that was carrying *Schrecklichkeit* to extremes!

THIS tremendous stream of travelers, never so great in all time as in this present year, is helping to bridge these gaps, to dispel these irritations; to accustom the folk of Nineveh to distinguish between their helpless hands; to teach young folk that soap can be of many shapes and odors and still be soap.

The test of the real traveler, "whether to Naishapur or Babylon," is the measure in which he adapts himself; takes on and takes in the atmosphere and essentials of life in the places to which he goes. I heard Woodrow Wilson say once, as if quoting, with reference to the people of another race:

"I do not like those people. I do not know them. I am sure that if I knew them I should like them."

Without thinking the less of the ways and circumstances of his own homeland, the traveler in any real sense adds to and modifies and criticizes them and himself in the light of each new contact and wider experience. He who insists in Paris and Peking upon finding hotel and food and all other things exactly as he has them in New York and Painted Post, is not traveling—he is staying at home in a most complicated, difficult and expensive manner.

"I have seen," says Koheleth, "all the works that are done under the sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit!"

There is a lust of the eyes, a craze for *seeing something else,* that will hurry a person from Niagara Falls to the Taj Mahal, from Cape Town to the aurora borealis at Rykjavik, and leave him at the end on his own porch in Olean or Dubuque, foot-weary and no wiser than he was.

The much-mentioned "broadening effect of travel" consists, not in extravagant mileage and labels plastered over luggage, nor in the number of renowned things and far places that one has seen, but in the new contacts of the soul, in wider understanding of mankind, in refreshed comprehension of the human spirit as it exhibits itself in varied manifestations throughout the world.

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

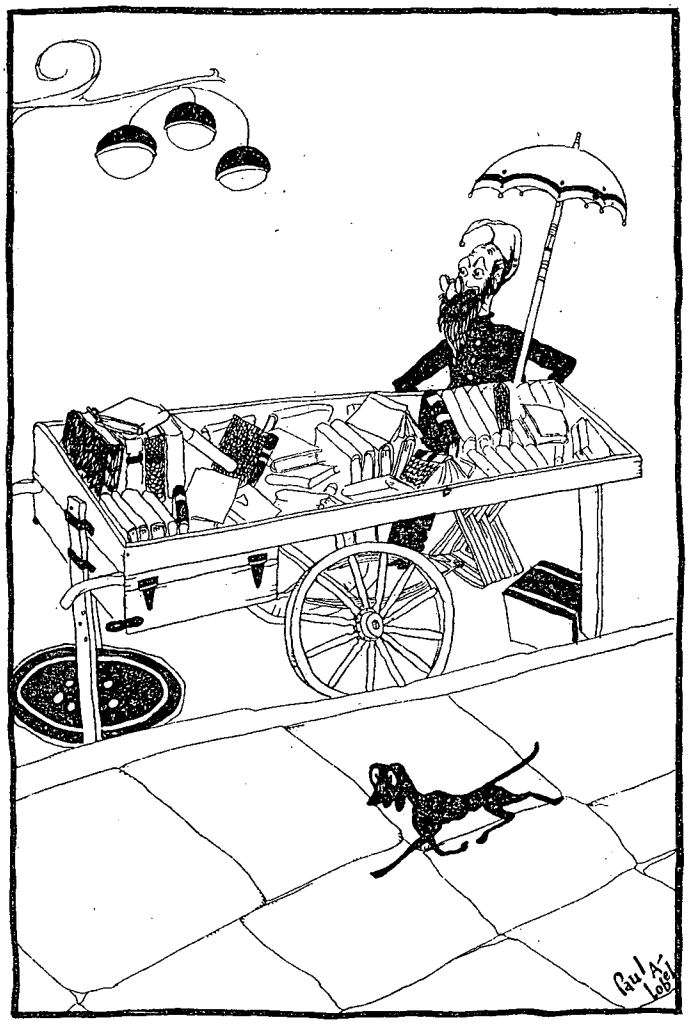
Wilful Folk and Ghosts

NAKED TRUTH, *by Clare Sheridan. Harper. 383 pp. Price $5 postpaid of The Survey.*
RECORD FLIGHTS, *by Clarence Chamberlin. Edited by C. B. Allen. Dorrance and Co. 286 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
SAWDUST AND SOLITUDE, *by Lucia Zora and Courtney Riley Cooper. Little, Brown. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE STUMP FARM, *by Hilda Rose. Little, Brown. 178 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
CAPTAIN JACK, *told to Henry Outerbridge. Century. 377 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
WARPED IN THE MAKING, *by H. Ashton-Wolfe. Houghton-Mifflin. 323 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

SOME conquer by thought, some by dreams, and some by will. The thinkers and dreamers have for ages given us records of their lives, but the willers have been too busy or too averse to words to tell of their urges or even their adventures. Now they are beginning to tell tales. So, for reading in the season when our own wills are prone to aestivate, we recommend these books. They are true fairy-tales with scarlet dashes of romance and detective intrigue, much worthier hammock and deck literature than synthetic novels by timid souls who write of brave deeds as an escape from not having any of their own.

We are getting some of these wilful lives through the mysterious intervention of that device of modern journalism, the "ghost-writer". He is a reporter-Boswell who listens to the plain talk of the adventurer, and weaves it into a good story. He is a kind of "medium" to translate the dynamic into the statics of print. The ghost-writer is by instinct a window-dresser and a dramatist. Naturally he picks out the "good stuff" and the tale loses nothing in his telling. The picture of a life he gives bears about the same relation to reality as does the heaven revealed by a "spiritual" medium: Somebody tells a control who tells a medium who tells you! Conversations, for example, are given verbatim after a score of years; failures are happily forgotten; contrasts are sharpened; and events arranged to enhance drama. All this makes gorgeous reading, but is perhaps inadequate evidence on which to study the human comedy. Nevertheless, the ghost-writer has given us entrance into lives that otherwise might remain unexplored, and we are grateful for the thrills.

It is strange, but often these folks do not achieve great deeds. They are full of plans, and programs and explanations, but these are finally justifications for their will. They are, as Henry Adams said of Roosevelt, "pure act." They just have to do things, and they do. They are restless and reckless—and rather, I suspect, more reckless of their friends and family than of anybody else. It is uncomfortable to fall within an orbit of pure acts; yet a fine commentary on the race to see how, out of admiration for the God-like and priceless quality of will, everybody joins to push the wilful into the air, or salvage them when they crash. But it means that these are the tales of survivors. Dashing full tilt ahead through a world as indifferent to humans as this of ours, the wilful cash in often and quickly. Death or disease, or a broken mainspring of nerves or courage, reap most of them, unsung. That is part of the thrill of those who win. Phil Payne and Mrs. Grayson willed just as hard as Lindbergh or Levine, but they willed themselves to death in the Atlantic fogs.



Courtesy, the New York Times

Literature à la carte

THE stories of three women are noted here: Women have been, of course, notoriously the wilful sex, living much more than men through pure act. Nature demands that they plunge into supreme adventures, eyes shut. But hitherto nobody has done much to record how they felt about things. Lucia Zora and Hilda Rose are not unique, for we have always had pioneer women. It is their new publicity that is unique. A small boy summed it up recently when, reproved for being second in his class to "a mere girl," he explained gravely, "Father, girls aren't as *mere* as they were in your day."

Nothing *mere* has ever corrupted the gay wilfulness of Clare Sheridan. What could you expect of her who is the daughter of one of the three famous Jerome sisters of New York, and has for cousin no less a will than the Honorable Winston Churchill; who called Henry James irreverently "Uncle Henry," had George Moore and Robert

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Hitchens as literary god-parents and Rudyard Kipling as near neighbor—and so got the famous interview that offended America so vastly? She married into the line of Richard Brinsley Sheridan and lost her husband in the World War, being left with two children for whom she has the peculiar devotion of a rich nature. Her family lived on the edge of bankruptcy, but she grew up with the élite of the world, including a crown princess. When she had to support her children, her fingers found release in clay—and now we hardly know whether it is Clare Sheridan, the sculptor, the newspaper correspondent, or the gay and beautiful dancer through life that this volume celebrates. But one thing we note—she needed no ghost-writer to express herself! The flavor of the book is partly that of Margot Asquith's Memoirs, but with real adventures in place of Margot's dallying with hunting and "The Souls." Partly of Isadora Duncan's deep draughts of experience in beauty and creation, though it is based on emotional conventions far different from Isadora's.

The scene is half the world and the characters range from Charlie Chaplin, with whom she went camping, to Lenin the dictator, whose bust she did. All the great are there in undress. The most fascinating segment is her first trip to Russia with Kamenev, whose wife did not play her part very well. Here is the real diary matter for future historians—and the tale of how Clare got not one sable coat, but two. Her journalistic adventures from Ireland to Constantinople are vivid and full of aslant glimpses on post-war Europe. But here is little of the philosophy of history. This lady has been too busy a-seein' and a-doin' things. It is all the story of a rich and vivid woman, pliant hands a-drip with the gold and scarlet vintage of life. It leaves the reader breathless with delight before such fulness of living; and ends with the author for a moment resting on the edge of the Sahara, on her lips the battle-cry of all the wilful "Whatever is to be, is written."

Hilda Rose had no glitter in her battles: it has been against Nature, not man, on a stumpland homestead where she came as a school teacher with tuberculosis, weight eighty-six pounds. Her sickly husband of nearly seventy (twenty-eight years older than she was) and their son were her charges, and with them and for them she fought cold, forest fires, drought, sickness and above all isolation, with no comradeship until she began to write letters of which this book is a selection. She went through Hell with a smile, even making a flower garden in the wilderness, and organizing a Helping Hand of farmers' wives to aid those who had less than she! You can learn something of why farm relief is our major problem from her story of how Nature (and man's neglect) drove the farmers off the stump-lands. She took her tiny possessions and her family to British Columbia, and the last letters are about this new struggle with the cold, and endless toil. The courage of the woman is beyond belief. But there is no self-pity. She says: "It isn't the fellows in the thick of the fight who are worrying. They are too busy." There speaks the true will.

HERE is no dare-devilry of wilful stunts, but the stark pioneer's urge to build a home. The marvel and worth of the inner spirit is proven by the perfect, unspoiled love of life in Hilda Rose. The souls who are poor within give up or go crazy. But for one who has music, love of Nature, books, and love of a man and a son and can commune with friends even by one mail a month, her will shall be kept bright and loving, ready for what use God has waiting for those souls he tempers for mysterious reasons.

Lucia Zora's will first conquered killer elephants and the big cats in the circus, and then conquered Nature and herself on a lonely homestead in Colorado. It is a queer tale of this darling of the Big Top—leading lady animal-trainer in the land—who sang arias in the arena and quoted the classic by heart, but bought linens for the home that she some day must create. The troupers called her diamonds "Zora's Cows." The sawdust part is rich in adventure and the pungent smell of tan-bark. You'll enjoy going behind the tent to hear of the mad stampede of elephants through a barber shop and a music store in Riverside, California, trampling a woman to death, and totting up seventeen thousand dollars damages for the afternoon; or of how Zora jabbed a bull-hook down an elephant's throat to save Fred Alispaw, her husband, from being crushed. She was covered with scars before her will mastered the lions and tigers. You see how the will drives its people! What was the use of all this? To amuse old and young with vicarious thrills? Some are just built that way. And she rested her nerves by making candy, or conjugating French irregular verbs—and reading farm magazines. After ten years they had twelve thousand dollars—the will cares little for pay—and she decided to get a ranch and raise food for the soldiers at war. "It won't do any good to argue," said her husband—and that's the wise conclusion for such cases.

THEY squatted on a mountain-side in the snow. She suffered; she ploughed, and butchered hogs, alone; men died of the flu; they were cheated; the price of steers went down; the complexion and hands of the circus queen were ruined. They learned to labor without applause, and nearly went crazy. They had to achieve the inner mastery Hilda Rose had first-hand. Lucia lived with the saying of an old neighbor on those who stayed in the country six years: "She'll do one of three things. She'll run away with another man, she'll kill her husband, or she'll kill herself." But she willed through—and when the ranch was won, went to town to a newly opened beauty-parlor, and spent two weeks having facials and manicures! Some woman! She lived up to the circus creed: "Protect the audience!" and "The Show must go on!"

Record Flights is Clarence Chamberlin's story of how he piloted the Bellanca plane Columbia from New York to Eisleben, Germany. But deeper, it is the story of how both Chamberlin and the plane were driven across the Atlantic by the blind will of that queer, quarrelsome, insensitive little speculator, Charles Levine. The latter appears only incidentally: when he hops aboard without anybody's suspecting his plans, in a blue serge suit, and his wife behind in tears; when he sends the plane into a dive of a couple of miles before Chamberlin can clamber from his bunk and right the ship; when he gave the text for all adventurers as they saw Newfoundland fade behind them in these words:

"'Europe the next stop.' And, with a grin, 'Well, here goes nothing.'

"'What are two men more or less,' I replied."

That sounds authentic someway, and so does all the tale, thanks I think to the sincerity of the "ghost," one C. B. Allen, aviation expert for the New York World. It seems the most detailed and intimate story of a flight yet written. You learn the things you have wanted to know, both human

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and thrilling. You are in the cabin, seeing the phantasmagoric earth slip beneath, ice-bergs gleam blue, and liners salute as we fly by to get a bearing from their wakes. You get the drowsy misty landing in the German field before dawn, and the refilling with gasolene from a coffee-pot with a long snout; and the rivalry of the welcoming mayors, and the final triumphs and procession through Europe.

It is all quite simple, and home-folksy, and very real. Even the last part, on Chamberlin's early training and stunt-flying, has this same delightful simplicity and human interest, especially the tales of the Negro aviator who lost his nerve as a parachute took him from the plane, and grabbed a wing-strut and near wrecked everything. (He was not pure act!)

Captain Jack's story is so incredible that his publishers keep insisting he's a real man and not a surviving hero from the lamented Nick Carter's classic library of sleuths. If this is the life of our secret-service men, their daily adventures should be incorporated in the Congressional Record to make it a best seller—also that we might scrutinize the morals of this occupation and its methods. Captain Jack, who hides his name behind his ghost, Henry Outerbridge, for reasons of state, lived high and wide and handsome. He began with love-making and intrigue in Japan, then captained a guerilla machine-gun company in the incessant imbroglios in Nicaragua and Mexico, and ended doing his stuff in Europe during the World War. At present he may, or may not, be machine-gunning for the British on the edge of India. Every now and then he meets a lady spy by the Oppenheimish name of Olga. He meets other ladies, and even plays knight errant to a red-head for another gentleman half across Mexico. I guarantee nothing of this yarn except that it packs a kick. Its mortality rate seems uncommon high; and if I had killed as many men, by hand or machine, as this laddy-buck, I'd call it a day.

The kidney of the yarn is shown in these two bits, and if both actually happened to one man, truth remains superior to fiction. Once when a peevish hidalgo had him chained in a dungeon (yes, dungeon) and came to brand him with hot iron from a brazier, Cap'n J. kicked the señor over, looped the brazier to him with a rope, burned his leg-chains off, and branded the other lad before going. Page D. Fairbanks! Later he was pinioned by stakes on an ant-hill under a blazing sun. When he pulled loose and plunged into a river he looked as if he had been boiled. "This experience lasted half an hour, but it was the most terrible I ever had." That proves it's the little things that break the will. If you like violence, hot and strong, read this.

Warped in the Making is a set of "true" detective stories by H. Ashton-Wolfe, of the French and English C.I.D. and former assistant to Dr. Bertillon. The tales of Apaches in sewers, Chinese and sliding panels, and the Perfumed Death are noble thrillers—any one would outfit a whole novel for S. S. Van Dine. Of historic interest are those of the anarchist band who tried to cripple flying at the first air pageant at Rheims in 1909 so they could rule the world with planes. Several pilots were killed; planes burned, and the woman leader, Catherine Nastera, destroyed by her own bomb. This event was news to me, and may be for the reader. The beautiful Dutch girl named Zelle, who became the famous spy Mata Hari, and died before a French squad at Vincennes during the War, makes a moving figure.

Believe them or not, these are good books!

LEON WHIPPLE

Frost Lace

MR. HODGE AND MR. HAZARD, *by Elinor Wylie. Knopf. 256 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

IF in some spring housecleaning, scientists were to make a bonfire of the people and the ideas, which, objectively considered, had been "inadequate" to their time and place, into it would go much of the poetry and nascent wisdom of the world. Elinor Wylie has a predilection for sensitive souls, clear in their own integrity, yet too intricate, too finely attuned, to adapt themselves to the rough and ready orchestral setting of the life about them. Such a one is Mr. Hazard, frail prophet of justice and equality among men, leader of lost causes in Missolonghi, spiritually a weaker brother of the Shelley of her Orphan Angel, yet no less proud.

Mr. Hazard came back to England in the wet February of 1833, shaken but not bent by the suns and fevers of Greece and Italy and Spain. And out of that winter of fog and influenza he emerged into a brief pellucid summer which was one of the few clear reaches of beauty in an existence riddled with disaster. The sun of that summer was Lady Clara Hunting, so firmly set in her world that she could be compassionate and understanding as well as beautiful; its stars, her daughters Allegra and Pensarosa; the cold wind, in which it came to an end, the efficient tutor, Mr. Hodge, risen from a clerk in the East India Company, and still on the make, symbol of that sturdy common-sense England which had transmuted the bright visions of liberty and equality into the practical tools of Corn Laws and Reform Bills.

Mrs. Wylie has painted larger and more impressive canvases than this fragment in the life of a poet, yet none with a clearer or more delicate beauty, like that of the pictures which the midnight frost traces on the window-pane, perfect and sure in themselves, yet destined to fade in the light of the next inevitable day.

MARY ROSS

MANCHURIA: NO-MAN'S LAND OF ASIA

(*Continued from page* 376)

in the south, was by no means a matter of gratification to either Great Britain or the United States, and in 1909 Secretary of State Knox proposed an international loan to China for the redemption of the Russian and Japanese railroads before the time fixed by the treaties. But the Knox scheme was vigorously opposed by both Russia and Japan and bungled by the American diplomats entrusted with it and, in the years which followed, St. Petersburg was able to secure recognition for her special position.

Again in 1907, 1910 and finally in 1916, the Russian and Japanese governments, anticipating threats to their advantageous position in the three provinces from British and American interests, were able to reconcile their policies, to limit their fields to avoid a conflict, and to announce in no uncertain language that poaching on their particular preserves would not be tolerated. And thus the development of their economic empires on Chinese soil went on unhampered until the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It was the possible effects of this revolution upon Japanese interests in the south which led to the special Japanese-Chinese agreements and loans of 1918.

The Chinese Eastern Railway was soon badly disorganized. The huge subsidies of the Tsarist government—which had maintained some life in the Russian sphere—ceased, and to facilitate the military operations of the Allies in north Manchuria and eastern Siberia, an Inter-Allied Technical Board carried on the management of the line, and expended some five million dollars upon it pending the time when it should be returned to those in interest.

In 1920 the Chinese government took over temporarily the supervision of the railway in the absence of a recognized Russian government. The Russian administration and police were abolished and their place taken by local Chinese authorities. This settlement was deeply resented in Moscow, but the Soviet government was in no position at the time to take effective action. During and after the Washington Conference, the powers represented suggested that their cooperation in operating the railroad be continued until a generally recognized Russian government had been established, but China was not disposed to act on this suggestion. Finally, after prolonged negotiations, the Chinese government recognized the Moscow régime and in May of 1924 signed agreements for joint Chinese-Russian operation of the railroad. As, however, the Manchurian territory through which the Chinese Eastern runs was controlled by Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who at his own discretion regarded himself as independent of Peking, Moscow found it profitable to conclude an agreement with Chang concerning the railway in September of the same year, an act which immediately called forth vigorous protests from Peking. But as neither of these agreements supersede the original contracts of 1896 between China, the Chinese Eastern Railway Company and the Russo-Chinese Bank, which was established

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at the time by Witte to finance the project, the eventual settlement of a tangled international problem had only been made the more difficult.

Since that time the railway, as the center of what the Soviet still regards as its "sphere", has enjoyed a checkered career. Its entire zone from almost as far west as the town of Chita, which at one time formed the capital of the Far Eastern Republic, to the borders of the Maritime Province, has been a hotbed for diplomatic scares of every description. Harbin, the junction city between the main line of the Chinese Eastern and the southern branch connecting with the Japanese railways in the south, is constantly seething with rumors of all kinds, representative of the political aspirations of the Chinese, the Soviet authorities and the remnants of the Russian "Whites." The city still harbors a large White Russian population which loses no opportunity to play upon the fears of the Chinese that the "Reds" are plotting among the dissatisfied elements of the native population. During the early months of 1927, it was persistently rumored that the Soviet was making large concentrations of troops in eastern Siberia for the purpose of descending upon North Manchuria at a strategic moment when Chang Tso-lin would require all his forces to meet the advance of the southern Nationalists.

Another theory is that Russia will follow a far more subtle course and will reestablish her dominant position in North Manchuria by fomenting lawlessness among the Chinese population. It is claimed that the Soviet has been and is supporting bandit elements known as *hunghutzes,* and inciting Mongolian elements that generally speaking live outside the law, by furnishing them with money and arms. If indeed Moscow is playing such a game as its best chance of reestablishing control, the Chinese authorities are not greatly worried thereby, for Marshal Chang believes that it will be easier for him to buy the bandits than for Russia to do so.

On the other hand Russian propaganda is a very real cause of alarm to the Chinese authorities who are constantly making arrests. A great stir was caused a year ago in Harbin on the occasion of the arrest of General Yang Cho, a high Chinese official, on a charge of treason. The circumstances in the case concerned certain dealings which the general had with the Soviet Dalbank. It appears that the Harbin authorities telegraphed Chang Tso-lin telling him of the arrest and asking what to do with Yang Cho. Whereupon Chang wired, "Shoot him." So he was shot.

This is but one of innumerable cases that might be cited, illustrative of the fact that North Manchuria is still a no-man's land. Despite the play which the Soviet has been making of friendship for China, there is not the slightest doubt but that Russia is bending every effort to hold the remnants of her Manchurian empire regardless of the fact that it is a heritage of the hated days of Tsardom.

Wedged between this Russian preserve and the Great Wall of China, which runs into the sea at Shanhaikwan, are the Japanese with their leaseholds that still have three-quarters of a century to run, and nearly seven hundred miles of steel operated by the South Manchurian Railway Company—which in reality is the Japanese government. Here is a region decidedly the most peaceful, the most law-abiding, the most prosperous of all China. Here have been established by the energetic agents of Tokyo, modern public works, hospitals, research laboratories and experimental stations which rival those of the Western World. Here under the guidance of Japanese efficiency a country not unlike the Canadian Northwest or western Nebraska has been opened to the trade of the world. Here at the city of Dairen has been developed a foreign commerce totalling annually some 300,000,000 Haikwan taels, as compared with some 14,000,000 in 1906, figures which are representative of a proportional growth in the wealth of South Manchuria wherever the Japanese-controlled railways have penetrated.

FACED with these facts, observers of international politics in the Far East have said that South Manchuria is but an extension of the Japanese Empire in Korea and that to a less extent North Manchuria is but an added province to Russian Siberia. Superficially this may be true, yet the traveler who views the rolling plains of Manchuria from the observation car of the South Manchuria Railway Express, or from the windows of the less punctual Chinese Eastern, will be surprised to note that the settlers who inhabit this no-man's land are not Japanese; they are not Russians, either "White" or "Red"; they are Chinese. So far as railways are concerned, the three eastern provinces may belong to the capitalist of Japan or the communist of Moscow, but racially, and in fact economically, Manchuria belongs to the Chinese farmer. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, this thrifty person who can squeeze out of a narrow strip of land more produce than any competitor who may be sent against him, has been pushing his way from Shantung and Chili beyond the Great Wall to the fertile fields of Fengtien and Kirin.

Oblivious to the wars and rumors of wars behind him, oblivious to the constant conflicts of Tuchuns, oblivious to Western imperialism or Russian communism, about which he thinks little and cares less, he plants his seed, harvests his crop, and provides the business without which the Manchurian railways, both Russian and Japanese, would be less than valueless. If the goal of Russian and Japanese penetration was the possession of Manchuria then the policies of those nations are the purest fiasco. Against the incoming tide of Chinese agrarian population, neither Tokyo nor Moscow can hope to prevail, for neither can till the soil of Manchuria in competition with John Chinaman, nor can the fate of their insignificant transplanted colonies be other than that of every foreign group which has sought to impose its culture upon the Chinese.

To what purpose then is this struggle?

CONTRARY to the solemn avowals in every agreement by which Japan and Russia have secured concessions in Manchuria, the interest of these nations there is decidedly political. Evidence that is overwhelming stamps any other interpretation as the purest nonsense. As an industrial nation, Japan is dependent upon China for her raw materials and foodstuffs to an ever-increasing degree. From the standpoint of her national existence, she regards Korea and its hinterland, South Manchuria, with greater jealousy than England once looked upon the Low Countries across the Channel. It is an obvious—and from the Japanese point of view a natural—fear, intensified not merely by the consciousness of economic dependency but by the accumulated evidence of history. Russia, since the middle of the nineteenth century, has been a constant threat to what Japan believes to be the security and independence of her empire, and thus by one means or another she has sought the security which, it is to be anticipated, her leaseholds and railways in South Manchuria do not provide.

Which way will she turn next? Her rights in Manchuria are threatened by Chinese nationalism, a force whose strength has not yet been fully tested. To the north she is confronted by Soviet Russia with whom her relations of friendship are at best nothing more than a flimsy pretense. The change from Tsardom to communism has not altered the fundamentals of Russian Far Eastern policy one iota. If it was true in the days of Witte that the value of Russia's Siberian empire is dependent on access to an ice-free port on the Pacific, that fact has not been altered by the lapse of a quarter of a century. For the time being Moscow is forced to play a passive game but the basic conflict remains the same.

The fate of Manchuria still dominates the Far Eastern stage. Granting that out of the present chaos in China, there will emerge a strong national government demanding recognition of full Chinese sovereignty, what will the answer be? What guarantees can Moscow give that will quiet the fears of Tokyo? How can Japan find assurance that she will never be denied the markets without which she cannot exist? Can the leaseholds and "spheres" that Russia and Japan have regarded as vital be reconciled with the new spirit that dominates Young China? Can the wealth that these powers have poured into Manchuria prevail against the nationalistic hopes and aspirations of a ceaseless stream of farmer immigrants who are not Russians, not Japanese, but representatives of that race that numbers its inhabitants in the hundreds of millions—the Chinese?

It is because of these questions, which have gone and still go unanswered, that the destiny of eastern Asia in the twentieth century is bound not only with the story of China's internal strife and the nationalistic revolt of her youth, but also, and from the standpoint of the Western World, with increasing vehemence, with the game of world politics as it is being played in Manchuria, the three eastern provinces.

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YOUNG CHINA TACKLES THE FLOODS

(*Continued from page* 379)

'Since Republic, no more Dragon Boat festival' . . . . I say 'You work this day, Mr. Todd he give you 600 cash bonus besides wages'. . . ." He looked anxiously at O. J. Todd, who grinned and nodded. "If one man wants stop," continued Chang, "then I cut him." He flourished his cane to indicate that the cuts meant lashes. "I give him the 500 beats." He smiled happily, conscious that he was achieving a patriotic job for the Revolution.

But the men were too much for him. They worked the morning of the Dragon Boat Festival and received their 600 cash bonus; whereupon in the afternooon they all left for town to celebrate, quite ignoring the despairing Mr. Chang and his "500 beats," which he had threatened chiefly to preserve the "face" of the union as a big strong organization whose word must be obeyed. On other occasions his discipline was more effective. He had the right to arrest any member of the union, and he went a bit outside his sphere by arresting a grafting contractor who was making a concealed profit from the men's food. On another occasion, finding a worker who was persistently lazy and who held back the pay of the other men, since pay is made by section of dyke completed, Chang put a large dunce-cap on the man's head and a placard explaining his misdemeanor on his chest and made him walk the length of the dyke, giving him thereafter "one hundred beats on the back." This seemed a bit savage to me until Todd explained that the beats were mere taps, not designed to hurt but to humiliate as symbol of the paternal chastising power of the union, expressed in Chang.

"It's tyranny," said Todd, "but you have to have it. Its infinitely less tyranny than the old recruiters and contractors for food. This year they were averaging from 90 cents to $1.10 a day, of which 40 cents went for food under strictly controlled bookkeeping, giving them a much better diet than they had before, and a surplus wage over food five times as great as formerly. Mr. Chang, though a middle-school graduate, did his work as union representative for $20 (Mex) a month, which is less than the average of his workers got. He told me with pride that "no union organizer gets over $25; this is our rule—that we should get no more than the men." Chang also got no "squeeze"; nay more, he was tireless in hunting out all attempts at graft on the part of any contractors, whose accounts the union had the right to examine. Incidentally, the contractors were all picked by the trade union and recommended to Todd; thus the union kept a strangle-hold on them. The union hoped to be strong enough in the following year to take collectively the full contract for all dyke repair needed. But two months later all unions in the Hankow district were suppressed.

Chang took a pride in the dyke as a "revolutionary government job" for which his union had assumed the labor responsibility. I saw a bit of his Chinese cunning in action. Several score peasants had "squatted on the dyke," putting up little shacks and preferring to live on the roadway in order to save a few feet of arable land on their tiny holdings. Todd said they must be moved in a week. "I tell them must move three days," said Chang; "then we bargain." The result approved Chang's foresight. The Farmers Organization held a meeting, formally begged for two days more, and these were graciously granted. They agreed to move in five and they actually moved in seven, the time Todd had wanted.

I asked Todd how he found the union from an administrative standpoint. He laughed and told me some of his troubles in the first days of labor organization, when the workers were drunk with expanding life and had no notion how far they might go. "I didn't mind the extra wage; it is high, but it is worth it, for it has cut out absolutely all the old grafts and squeezes. Besides, wages have not been raised for nine years around Hankow while the cost of living has doubled. The men deserve what they get.

"But then they began to tell our engineers how thick they'll lay the dirt on, and how and where they will pack it down! The workers went wild with authority. They would pull up stakes and change the engineering plan. This happened when I was away and it played havoc with my Chinese engineers, who were good theoretical students but without practical experience in handling men. One of them simply fled from the job and thereby gave his whole engineering career a serious set-back. The others implored me with telegrams to return."

When Todd returned he found that the water had begun to rise on one side of the dyke, covering the territory from which they were hauling earth. Todd pointed out to me the land on the other side of the dyke, farmers' land which he had at once given orders to seize for use. "By what right?" I asked him. He laughed. "By right of eminent domain which I exercise in the name of the Dyke Commission. I told Sun Fo to send a commissioner down to appraise its value. I explained to the farmers that we would pay for it. But the dyke could not stop for permits. We have had no trouble over it. The farmers don't really expect to get their pay. Governments never really pay in China; they confiscate and promise. That's why the farmers oppose motor roads; they lose land and are not allowed on the roads with their heavy carts. But here I'm going to see that they get paid, just for a precedent. Besides, it's only a few hundred dollars."

In spite of his difficulties, Todd considered the labor unions an advance on past methods of handling labor: "In the past," he said, "we had endless troubles with petty local grafters, including local officials and contractors who fomented labor troubles and then demanded pay to quiet them. The union insured us against all this. We paid high for it, but the money we paid went into wages for the men and the resultant morale was worth it. Two years ago I did a dyke job in this province. We had to use recruiters to hunt labor for us. The recruiter was paid by us, but he also took 10 per cent of each man's wage; the foreman took another 10 per cent. The recruiter and foremen and local military then proceeded to arrange gambling dens which fleeced the men of what remained so that many of them left the job penniless after a summer's work. None of this is happening now."

IF the union seemed at first to the men merely a fairer "recruiter" who took one day's pay per month in dues instead of three days, they were not left long in such unsophistication. Walking Delegate Chang spent his days patrolling the dyke to see that the union won "face" by delivering swift work; but his nights were spent in union propaganda. He gathered from every group along the dyke the leading men and filled them with much modern doctrine on the uses of unions, which he expected them to pass on to their comrades. Swiftly and deliberately this horde of ignorant coolies were being accustomed to a more democratic form of labor organization. Although Chang flourished his bamboo rod as symbol of power before individual workers, he was quick to respond to any request proffered in the name of "a committee." His tyranny was never the arbitrary will of the old recruiter; it was never Chang, the strong man, who had power, but Chang, the symbol of the developing will of the workers.

"If the union learns, as it seems to be doing," said Todd, "not to interfere with engineering problems, but only with conditions of labor, then the best way of building dykes will be eventually for the government to hire the engineers and contract with the union for labor. A government once unified can plan in advance for ten or twenty years, giving continuous employment to a definite group of men. The union can pick such men, organize efficient gangs and guarantee good results and good pay. Then China would get good dykes, without the endless waste of recruiters, contractors and squeeze." It was a fair dream he visaged, but the road to it is not as straight as it seemed last summer. The unions are today suppressed and the collective enthusiasm evaporated which seemed then on the verge of great achievements.

Sun Fo, minister of communications and head of the Dyke Commission, gave me a brief sketch of the flood problem confronting China. "There are several provinces which have always had floods," he said. "Shantung, on the Yellow River; Hupen, where three rivers converge into the Yangtze; the coast district north of Shanghai along the Hwai Ho, a tributary of the Yangtze; and the West River south of Canton. A

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permanent plan means a complete system of regulating these rivers, by straightening, deepening and dyking. During the short period of Nationalist power in Canton, we made surveys and outlined work to be done on the West River. Three million dollars a year for ten years would guarantee Kwangtung province against floods permanently. The Yangtze and Yellow Rivers have not been surveyed yet; they will probably run into a hundred million apiece. Within a year after consolidation of power in Peking, which should take place this fall, we should have fairly definitely plans for handling China's rivers."

It was a boast which proved premature, for Peking did not fall for another year, and now that it is in their hands, the Nationalists are too divided to concentrate on dykes with the old zest I knew in Wuhan. Some day it will be done, no doubt, perhaps sooner than we now expect. Some day the hard, practical sense of the race that once elevated Hsia to the seat of empire because he was a great builder, will cast aside the pillaging, destructive militarists of recent days. When to the zeal for construction, which is their birthright for forty centuries, they add the engineering and industrial technique of western nations, there is little that Young China may not coolly plan and do. Two hundred million dollars for the conquest of floods and famines will be but the merest fraction of her achievements.

Meantime, however, political and military chaos continues, leading to neglect of the dykes and consequent death of millions. Under that chaos the volunteer organization—half Chinese, half foreign—continues to cooperate as well as a private organization may, across battle-lines. I remember how Todd used to classify the famines he explored, from one end of China to the other. Some of them floods, some of them drought; but over against so many—"militarism." Militarism which compelled opium-planting to the neglect of rice and wheat; militarism which robbed the peasant even of seed grain; militarism which neglected dykes and destroyed the basic wealth of the nation.

All of these local conditions he takes as he finds them. His last letter to me gives a birdseye view of the situation across half China:

> We are putting such money as we have into dyke repairs near Lintsing, Shantung, and along the Yellow River near the Chihli-Shantung border. We insist that the local officials do half the work. Up the Yellow River the people have contributed twenty thousand dollars in labor. We are arranging to ship four thousand yards of rock down stream; the armies of Marshal Feng quarry this rock for us and pay for it. The cooperation is satisfactory.
>
> Now I am enroute to Kiangsi [thus the picture shifts suddenly from north to central China] to assist our committee getting started on road construction. The money we use came from the last surtax on the Maritime Customs; none of it can be considered foreign money. We handle all engineering and accounts; the Provincial Government pays for rights of way and part of the construction.
>
> The governor of Kweichow [shifting clear to the south-west] acknowledges some photos I sent him of the motor roads made there last autumn. The engineering is under my assistant engineer, Mr. Wong, trained in an American University and in Henry Ford's factory at Detroit. This is the largest job we have yet been connected with. Mid-winter reported 200,000 men on road construction. We put in $300,000; but the people of Kweichow did ten times as much in furnishing labor. It is a land-locked province, mountainous and inaccessible; the four hundred miles of roads nearly completed will work wonders for these penned-up regions.

The story shifts from Yunnan in the extreme southwest to Kwangsi on the eastern coast, and notes irrigation work, flood control, mentioning "bright young students from American universities." "But these boys need several years training in handling men," adds O. J. Todd, and remembering Walking Delegate Chang on the dyke in Hankow I agree with him.

"Some day," he ends, "we should of course be absorbed into the government, when a stable one is formed." Meantime the labors of flood prevention and road building going on across a dozen battle-fronts are a reminder that even when the surface is chaos, the basic life of China is the patient, constructive life of common people, carrying on with what strength is left them, the endless warfare not against man, but against the ruthlessness of nature."

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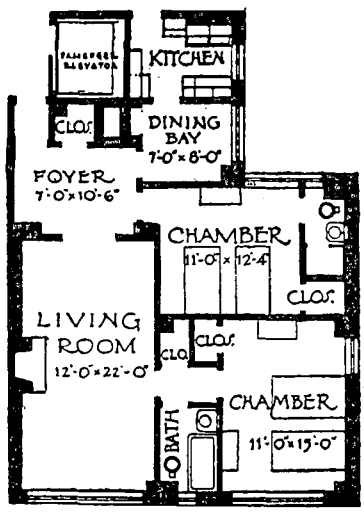

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HAMMERING AT THE PRISON DOOR

(*Continued from page* 389)

And to closer specification, page 327, referring to the Rice boarding school on the San Carlos Apache reservation of Arizona: "The average amount spent for food was nine cents a day. . . . The children were not receiving an adequate amount of food even of the very limited variety supplied. Malnutrition was evident."

And here a central issue raised by the institute's report may be illustrated and one of the major defects of the report specified. Why are the children, imprisoned at the Rice boarding school, being starved? Regarding this deficiency as regarding all others, the Indian Bureau answers, "The parsimony of Congress."

But in 1924, the bureau's superintendent at the Rice school reported starvation at Rice. In 1925, in his yearly narrative report, he cried out that his earlier plea had gone unheeded. He stated at length, that so feeble and sick were his children that they should be regarded as hospital cases, relieved of the requirements of that industrial work which the institute terms "child labor," and fed. In 1924 the American Red Cross reported with great detail to the Indian Bureau. And they were answered by a reduced appropriation for the Rice school, made effective in 1926. In 1927, the institute finds the condition described in its words above. Was Congress the wrongdoer?

The record answers. Those yearly reports from the superintendent were withheld from the public, and from the Indian and Appropriation Committees of Congress. The American Red Cross report was similarly withheld and actively concealed and suppressed. The children starved, died, were sent home with tuberculosis to infect their families.

The institute staff read the narrative reports of the superintendent (page 67 of their report). They read the American Red Cross report. They knew that the Indian Office, not Congress, had known the facts through years, had withheld them from Congress and by repeated broad denials had denied the facts. But all of this information is dropped out from the institute's report. The Indian Office is enabled to continue to say: "The parsimony of Congress!"

The institute's own report was delivered to the secretary of the interior February 21 last. Its contents were made known to the Indian Bureau chiefs at an earlier date. Is the famine among the boarding-school children heeded by the Indian Bureau even now, or made known to Congress? No. The deficiency bill in May, 1928, carries not one dollar to relieve the Rice school children or any others.

Generally the institute's report follows its method here illustrated. It gives facts, though too often stripping them of place and name. It gives judgments, the more persuasive from their studied coldness of expression. And it fixes responsibility up to that point where an innocent chaos of administrative organization, a lack of trained personnel and a poverty of funds can be made responsible. There it stops. But that deliberate continuance of a slow, silent massacre which the institute describes: Who, and what condition, is responsible? The institute neither provides the answer, nor incorporates in its report the documents to which it had access, which do provide the answer. The Senate investigation of Indian matters, now in progress, will give the answer, it is hoped. It will be stated at the conclusion of this review.

The masterpieces of the institute's report are the three sections on Health, Education, and Women and Family and Community Life, for which the following investigators were responsible: Dr. Herbert R. Edwards, medical field secretary of the National Tuberculosis Association, Dr. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., professor of education at Swarthmore College, and Mary Louise Mark, professor of sociology at Ohio State University. The authoritative discussion of Indian agriculture, by William J. Spillman of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, has evidently suffered much through exclusions. The whole staff membership advised on all sections of the report, and a difficult task of collating was admirably executed by Lewis Merriam, the staff director.

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The health section is a chamber of horrors, but not on one page of it are horrors presented except to indicate or justify program. The tuberculosis death-rate of the Arizona Indians is stated to be seventeen times the tuberculosis death-rate in the country as a whole. "In Idaho, Indian deaths are relatively five times as frequent as other deaths within the state." "The prevalence of tuberculosis in boarding schools is alarming. This condition is apparently due to failure to make complete examinations when the children are admitted and, later, to the serious overcrowding practiced, the poorly balanced ration and the industrial method of operating these schools. To aggravate these conditions, the child in an advanced stage of this disease is frequently returned to his family, there to infect others in the home." "The chief medical director has no control over the appropriations made for the various health activities." "At Pine Ride, South Dakota, only two physicians serve 7,800 Indians scattered over an area approximating 2,400 square miles." "The drug supplies on the shelves of practically all reservation dispensaries and hospitals are of a doubtful character and are far in excess of the present needs. Much of the stock is of a perishable nature, long since deteriorated, and of uncommon drugs seldom if ever used. At Zuni, for example, ten pints of fluid extract of ergot were found, enough to supply the entire Indian service." "No sanitorium in the Indian service meets the minimum requirements of the American Sanitorium Association. Not a single institution maintains a complete case record of its patients."

Nor is there space to summarize the recommendations for improved health service. Practically, they are an outline for such a building of a health system as would be planned in the complete present-day absence of a health system. Euphemisms in the introduction and summary statements aside, the institute report simply annihilates the existing medical and health system of the Indian Bureau. For education, a somewhat kindlier procedure was allowed by the facts.

Health in the boarding schools has been touched on. The descriptions of child labor in these institutions must be omitted here. For the régime on its educational side, the institute has this to say, and says it in twenty different places:

> The generally routinized nature of the institutional life with its formalism in class rooms, its marching and dress parades, its annihilation of initiative, its lack of beauty, its almost complete negation of normal life. . . . In almost no case could a reasonably clean bill of health be given to any one school.

But there are other schools for Indians—day schools. And while finding most of these schools nearly as defective on the strictly educational side as the boarding schools, the institute points out that they do not kill bodies or souls. And a few of these day schools are found to be little utopias. The day schools among the Hopi Pueblo tribes in Arizona are mentioned in this latter class. It is regrettable that space did not permit Dr. Ryan to give a full picture of method and results at these schools, which though struggling under the fantastic uniform curriculum requirements of the bureau, with the sealed examination papers mailed from Washington identical for all Indian schools in the United States, yet have used and enriched the community life and have moved their children years forward in the academic requirements. Here are achievements on which future Indian administration can build, though they barely hint what will be possible when uniformity is abandoned and the community itself is permitted to create its Indian school. And these happy day-schools lose their children very young; the maw of the boarding schools must be fed, the "quota demands" are received, and the children are swept into trucks, loaded like sheep, and away.

In vacations, the institute reports, the children are discouraged from returning home. This is one of the few points at which the moral indignation of the survey staff breaks its bounds. The Indian Bureau, state the investigators, urges on the little boys to sign up for beet-field work in Kansas. The circulars state that they will earn two dollars a day. They are sent in gangs, without an overseer or adviser. "Of the 29 boys in the first group mentioned, only two were over 14 years of age, and more than half were 11 or 12. . . . Their average net earning after 63 days in the beet fields was $5.62, or less than nine cents a day." The boys are charged twenty dollars for transportation, a dollar a month for company hoes and a

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dollar a month for hospital; they must feed and house themselves. The Indian Bureau instructs the boarding-school superintendents, "It is light work, and is all done stooping over or on the hands and knees. Small boys are very well adapted to this work. It is preferred to take boys of only school age." The institute omits to report, what its investigators knew, that last summer, when seven of these infant peons were down with typhoid fever, they were not hospitalized though their wage had been "docked" for hospitalization, but were driven seven hundred miles to their reservation in western Arizona.

The two concluding chapters of the report deal with Indian Law and Missionary Activities. The latter chapter is incomprehensibly weak—justified though its scoldings may be, and sound though its counsels of perfection may be. The legal chapter is useful as a descriptive treatise and makes valuable suggestions of detail, but fails in that branch of the subject where constructive thinking is most needed. The suggestion, made at intervals since the Roosevelt administration, that Indian tribes be permitted to incorporate and manage their tribal estates under federal oversight, is advanced anew. It is perhaps the most fruitful idea yet launched in Indian affairs but is not given the needed development in this report. The so-called courts of Indian offenses (i.e., penal administration by the Indian Bureau under regulations of its own making, or under no regulations, and without legal record of trials) are defended. The proposal of Senator LaFollette and Congressman James A. Frear, for bringing the Indians under federal court jurisdiction, with a guarantee of due process of law, is radically mis-described, apparently on hearsay rather than on a reading of this important measure or of the hearings in Congress dealing with it. This chapter of the report is said to have pleased the assistant secretary of the interior in charge of Indian matters.

The immediate recommendations of the institute deal with appropriations. The creation of a Division of Planning and Development in the Indian Bureau is recommended, with other staff enlargements totaling $335,000 a year of new cost. An emergency appropriation of one million dollars for meeting the state of famine in the boarding schools is recommended. (As already stated, this recommendation, though made to the secretary of the interior in February, was withheld by him from Congress, and therefore is ignored in the deficiency bill; the children must starve till next year.) A five-million-dollar increase of general appropriations for the service is recommended. Hundreds of detailed recommendations find place in the body of the report.

THIS review must end on the critical note. What brings about, what perpetuates, the incredible state of affairs so adequately told in the institute's report? An innocent chaos of administration, a bureaucratic unintelligence, and a shortage of appropriations: Such, and practically such alone, is the institute's answer. Such was the institute's hypothesis, adopted at the beginning and held to till the end. Many prominent facts show that these factors cannot be all. Such facts are omitted from the report, or are barely referred to in passing. The selective process is elaborately followed out. The burning subject of the theft of Indian water-power sites through the acknowledged initiative of the Indian Bureau, is avoided in the report. Was there ever a Jackson Barnett case, and are there other trust deeds disposing of Indian property, more fantastic if possible even than that famous example? The report is silent. What of the fundamental proposition, that the Indian Bureau system has been devised for robbing Indians, and ultimately denies to Indians the Constitutional rights and the human rights because thus alone can their estate be held open to the raids of special interests? What of the charge that never has the material exploitation of Indians been so intense, so organized, or so impetuous as today, under the control of bureau chiefs who are hold-overs from the régime of Albert Fall? The institute is silent. It does not controvert, it does not affirm, it conventionally does not know of the existence of that aspect of the Indian problem stated by the National Bureau of Municipal Research in 1915, in one of the many reports that the Indian Office has succeeded in burying, or in having buried, from public view:

Behind the sham protection which operated largely as a blind to publicity have been at all times great wealth in the form of

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Indian funds to be subverted; valuable lands, mines, oil fields, and other natural resources to be despoiled or appropriated to the use of the trader; and large profits to be made by those dealing with trustees who were animated by motives of gain. . . . And still, due to the increasing value of the remaining estate, there is left an inducement to fraud, corruption and institutional incompetence, almost beyond the possibility of comprehension. . . . All the machinery of government has been set to work to repress—rather than to provide adequate means for justly dealing with—a large population which has no political rights.

The Senate investigation of Indian matters is now under way; the staff workers, headed by Louis R. Glavis, are in the field. The institute has provided many of the working papers of its investigators to the Senate committee, whose chairman is Senator Lynn J. Frazier. The two sets of findings will be complementary, not contradictory. Together, if citizens will continue attentive, the report may actually break through the Indians' prison door.

WHERE THE EAST SPOKE ITS MIND

(*Continued from page* 380)

to call home an outspoken servant is under obligation to see that his career is not brought to an abrupt end by the fact that he has been practically deported from a given mission. Opportunity must be found for him in some other mission or in his homeland.

All the recommendations of the Industrial Committee were passed by the conference after full discussion, except some minor items which had little to do with the main themes. I quote a paragraph from the report:

> We acknowledge with shame and regret that the churches everywhere, and the missionary enterprise, coming as it does out of an economic order dominated almost entirely by the profit motive (a motive which itself stands in need of Christian scrutiny), have not been so sensitive of these aspects of the Christian message as would have been necessary, sensibly to mitigate the evils which advancing industrialization has brought in its train, and we believe that our failure in this respect has been a positive hindrance—perhaps the gravest of such hindrances—to the power and extension of missionary enterprise.

Then the report proceeded to point out the dangers attendant upon the investment of capital in undeveloped areas, and in particular called for the removal of all restrictions which have as their effect to impose special economic disabilities on indigenous workers for the economic advantage of other classes of workers and capitalists, by excluding the former from particular employments, by limiting their access to land, by restricting their right of meeting and free speech, and by interfering with their freedom of movement.

A second problem which was acted upon decisively had to do with the protection of missionaries in foreign fields in times of civil disturbance or anarchy. The charge has frequently been made that missionaries from so-called capitalistic lands to so-called backward peoples have essentially been advance agents not only of Christianity but of capitalism as well; that as soon as any violent uproar arises in the field where the missionary labors, capitalistic agencies, working through governmental channels, are anxious to extend to missionaries such protection as will give foreign agencies themselves material protection and other advantages in the land where the missionary is in peril. We are all aware of the extent to which this belief obtains in China today. Of course thirty years is a short time in international history, but it was just about thirty years ago that the German emperor became so deeply disturbed over the killing of two German missionaries in China that his grief could be assuaged only by China's practically ceding the entire Shantung Peninsula to Germany. To be sure, this type of claim could not be so successfully maintained today, but the German emperor's procedure is looked upon by nationals of so-called less-developed lands as revealing the underlying spirit which animates western Christianity. Moreover, there is too glaring a contradiction between the Gospel of Peace which the missionaries preach, and the protection of those missionaries by methods far from peaceful. This is just one phase of the fact that the greatest difficulty which the missionary has to meet in preaching Christianity is the contradiction between the

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message which he preaches and the governmental foreign policy of the land from which he comes.

A resolution was introduced early in the sessions calling upon governments to use only such measures in the protection of missionaries as will themselves further international good will, and urging upon mission boards not to ask governments of the nations from which the missionaries come, to protect church workers in foreign localities, or mission property, by force. It looked at one time as if the officers of the conference felt that this resolution would create harmful division, and they reported that their own judgment was that the resolution ought to be referred to the national councils of the various lands sending delegates to Jerusalem. Almost at the last moment of the session a protest from the floor brought the resolution out for consideration. It soon became manifest that missionary board officials considered the resolution appropriate only for discussion by the missionaries themselves. Citizens of the United States and Europe dwelling far from the fields of missionary labor did not feel that they should take part in this discussion. As soon, however, as the question came to the floor it was seized by the missionaries with amazing eagerness. The nationals from the various indigenous churches evidently felt that they should not participate in the debate, so that the discussion was confined almost wholly to missionaries. The outcome was that every missionary who spoke protested against any protection of himself by the armed forces of his government; and the resolution passed almost unanimously.

The conference gave much of its time to a consideration of the self-government of churches in mission lands. We who have heard about the demand for self-determination in oriental countries were surprised at the moderation of the demands, or rather requests, of the oriental churches. There was indeed insistent emphasis upon the necessity of the West's recognizing the nationalistic sentiment in the East. No representative of a mission church whom I heard speak wavered in the least in his demand for western recognition of the legitimacy and the inevitability of nationalistic movements in China and India. Some delegates of China and India, notable among them Dr. S. K. Datta of India, were specially outspoken in their devotion to the nationalistic spirit. Nevertheless when we came to consider actual adjustments between indigenous churches in foreign lands and so-called mission boards back in the sending countries, the requests of the nationals were surprisingly conservative. For example, it was from the first obvious that none of the mission lands desired to see missionaries withdraw. They did desire that administrative control of church enterprises should be in the hands of nationals rather than of outsiders, but they insisted upon a very large place for the activity of missionaries.

IN all these discussions, however, one could not help seeing the sensitiveness of peoples where there has been European overlordship—the sensitiveness of India in particular. One of the most harmful effects of foreign overlordship in India has manifestly been in the type of mind produced there. I trust the Jerusalem Conference will do something to lift the Indians out of their feeling that they are assumed to be inferiors by the peoples of the West. I am not blaming the Indian representatives at Jerusalem for their sensitiveness, but it was painful to see proposition after proposition of the West suspected by Indian delegates as if there were some lurking disingenuousness in the proposition, or as if some one was trying to put something over on India. There can be little doubt that there has been enough in the dealing of western nations with India to warrant suspicion, but nevertheless the outcome is that it is difficult to deal with representatives from India when problems of the relation of America to India, even in matters of church government, are under consideration. Tact is taken for craftiness and frankness of speech for feeling of superiority.

Any observant attendant at Jerusalem would be struck by the proficiency with which the nationals in various mission lands have appropriated and made use of the phrases of the West in explaining embarrassing social situations. Let me cite a single instance: Inquiry arose as to the relation of Japanese to Koreans. The Japanese declined to answer, on the ground that the Korean problem is for Japan entirely domestic. The air of finality with which the Japenese said this showed how

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completely they had learned at least one lesson from the West. It is only fair to say, though, that the representatives of the western nations did not withdraw subjects from discussion on the ground that they were domestic.

The color line came in for most outspoken treatment, and there was no disposition on the part of the members from the United States to treat the matter as domestic in the United States. By the way, there was very frank handling of this question; such frankness indeed that one could hardly fail to see the dreadful seriousness of the problem the world around. The willingness of colored men to speak out with boldness on discriminations against themselves was one of the hopeful signs at Jerusalem, as was also the willingness of the visitors from England and the United States to listen to these protests. Still I am not sure that the willingness to listen meant much. To see white men and Negroes associating at Jerusalem was indeed to beget in one an optimism for the future, but one could not always tell what this freedom of association meant or implied. It certainly did mean that so far as individual black men were concerned, individual white men of the type at Jerusalem had risen above all notions of social inequality, but on the general question one could not resist the suspicion that after all the freedom of association among these "picked" individuals had little bearing on the larger problem.

WHILE I am mentioning this, may I say that I am not sure the Jerusalem meeting would give us much warrant for hope that the spokesmen of various races are yet on the ground of equal give-and-take in debate. A very pungent speech was made by a leader from one of the great eastern nations—a nation in which England is directly concerned. The speech abounded in criticisms of English polity. The English listened in complete silence. There was no attempt at reply. Personally I should have felt better about it if the English had made some answer. For I could not help thinking that, while the English had been entirely respectful in their bearing toward the speaker who was criticizing their policies, nevertheless there was something like contempt in their passing his utterances by with no comment whatsoever.

The conference manifested some of the limitations under which Christian bodies work when they are dealing with scientific and industrial and social themes. There can be no doubt as to the humanitarian interests of such bodies, but they are likely to take the edge off their pronouncements by trying to frame them in language that will preserve the continuity with religious and even ecclesiastical conceptions. A report on religious education had been prepared by distinguished professionalists in that field—experts themselves thoroughly devoted to the essentials of Christian thought. This report brought out more clearly than perhaps did any other the need of utilizing scientific method in religious activity. The report did not get the assent of the conference until it had been recommitted to the committee and cast in terms of almost pietistic religious experience. The members of the conference were in sympathy with the scientific aim of the paper, but it had to be remolded in the accustomed phraseology. I do not say that religious bodies are the only ones that thus make strained attempts to state scientific methods in language almost unscientific, but the tendency to preserve continuity in this fashion was very marked at Jerusalem.

Another tendency appeared, especially in the handling of industrial problems. The workers in mission fields the world around, missionaries and nationals alike, have little grasp on the farther implications of economic principles. They see particular and specific evils to be remedied, and with a sound instinct they strike at those evils. The men from Africa were burdened with the grievances of forced labor in their country. The delegates from China and India could speak intelligently of bad housing and long hours of toil in new industrial centers. All of these were clamorous for some handling of specific bad spots in Africa and India and China. This of course was all to the good, but there was little realization that these different evils were the outcomes of capitalistic tendencies which could only be met by curbing the tendencies themselves.

The Industrial Report declared that evils in the various mission lands come out of the capitalistic spirit, and that the missionary enterprise, itself issuing as it does from a civili-

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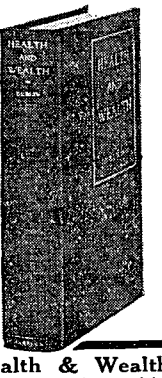

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zation largely dominated by the profit motive, is embarrassed because the so-called Christian nations themselves are not subjecting the profit motive to Christian scrutiny. Nevertheless the general discussion showed that the delegates were most concerned with evils which the trained social student would probably call symptomatic. I do not mean there is any considerable ground for criticism at this point. Mission workers are confronted with actual evils working in industry upon the lives of those whom they are trying to help. The human distress coming out of forced labor and the exploitation of workers in factories in India and China may be only symptomatic, but it is so desperately real that the mission worker is likely to see at close range only the distress itself. We must remember, moreover, that general discussions of economic principles do not mean much except to those who have been trained to the study of such principles. Further, the mission workers themselves have heard endless discussion of such Christian truths as the worth of personality, for illustration, and cannot see that their immediate difficulties are solved by general expressions without some statement as to how to preserve personality against the working of a system which calls for forced labor. A good deal of the economic utterance of Jerusalem will seem unfamiliar to readers in America but it all arose out of actual concrete distresses in the lands which the capitalistic countries are seeking to exploit.

When all is said, one must look upon the Jerusalem meeting as of profound economic significance. The voice of the Orient—and in Orient I will include Africa for the purposes of this article—declares unmistakably that Christianity must be put in human terms and worked out into expression by agencies which mean larger and better life for men.

I would not have my readers think that this call of the Orient was willingly listened to by all of the delegates. Some representatives of so-called Christian countries appeared unable to make anything of the social demands of mission fields. They seemed to feel that a church should give itself either to the defense of a body of doctrine or to the preservation of mystically efficacious sacraments. Here again it would be easy to misunderstand. I knew some European delegates to be positively shocked by open and full discussion of social and industrial themes at a religious assembly, while I knew these same delegates to be profoundly interested in social progress in their own lands. The explanation was that such persons had not connected their religious conceptions with practical expression in these larger social realms. It is odd to note how long it takes some minds to make this direct connection. After the Industrial Report was adopted I know that one man left the hall vowing that he would never contribute another cent to a missionary society, yet I know that this same man is ardent in his zeal for social welfare. He simply could not think of religion as connected with social betterment. I do not pretend to understand or explain this type of mind. I simply state that I heard it expressed.

IT was interesting to observe in the discussions what a vast mass of material had to do with problems which are substantially similar the world over. One of the most important subjects considered was the rural problem. President Kenyon L. Butterfield of the State Agricultural College of Michigan, and K. T. Paul of India, worked together in the preparation of a masterly report on rural situations in mission fields. To be sure, wide differences appeared between what we think of as a rural problem in the United States and such a problem in India and China. So-called industrialization of the Orient has not yet gone far enough to affect the great multitudes of farmers of India and China. That urbanization of the rural mind of which we see such abundant signs in the United States has not yet appeared in India and China, extensive as is the industrialization of these lands.

Nationals and mission workers alike reported that the best material help which the West can render the East, apart from scientific knowledge as to human and sanitary measures, is instruction as to how to make the soil more productive. It would have given some of the old-time missionaries a start to hear Miss Lambert of Foochow, who has spent over thirty years in mission work in China, declare that the time has come for workers from the West to take seriously a study of the

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use of fertilizers best adapted for Chinese farming. It appeared at Jerusalem that China needs not only the rule-of-thumb, common-sense methods wrought out through forty centuries, but the distinct application of modern scientific knowledge to soil fertilization.

It was interesting to sit in the audience and hear delegates pass from a consideration of the Christian message as such to the application of that message to Chinese problems, and mark the great proportion of time given to such themes as plant bacteriological processes. One reason for belief in a new day for missions is the amount of time given to such basic and fundamental concerns in the discussions of the relation of the West to the East.

OUR HIDDEN CITIES

(*Continued from page* 392)

studied case by case—no one had even tallied their number hitherto—as to the causes of the accidents and the responsibility for them. This steady march of injury and death meant an enormous economic waste, yet in over half of the cases it was found that the employers assumed absolutely no share of the inevitable income loss. What this meant in shattered homes, thwarted schooling, broken lives was spread out in a mosaic of tabulations and human stories that in their sequence led inevitably to the challenge for prevention and compensation.

III. GRAPHIC INTERPRETATION:

The Pittsburgh Survey broke with the tradition of anonymous and treatise-like reports. The findings were cast by the staff over their own signatures. Here a leaf was taken out of another characteristic American development—that of the reporter's function in journalism, which at the hands of the "muck-rakers" as they were called, had made the staff investigations of the magazines of the day a force in public opinion. The effort was to make the town real—to itself; not in goody-goody preachment of what it ought to be; not in sensational discoloration; not merely in a formidable array of rigid facts. There was the census at one pole; and "yellow journalism" at the other, and here an adventure on the high seas between. That is why the story of the city's evolution was told by a native son (Robert A. Woods of South End House), why industrial biographies of roll hands and furnace tenders were collected by John A. Fitch, as well as wage schedules; why the group picture of child life in a glass town was drawn by Elizabeth Butler alongside the analyses of labor legislation and compulsory education laws; why there was concern with the margins of leisure and culture and home life possible when a man works on a 12-hour shift as well as the free surplus which high wages may leave over a high cost of living.

That was why, in this city of engineers, maps, charts and diagrams were used as modern hieroglyphs to reinforce the text, why the camera was resorted to as a luminous and uncontrovertible transcript of life, why Lewis Hine's "work portraits" told their story of human wear and tear and why half the time of an Italian interpreter, Joseph Stella (later to become one of the leading artists of his generation), was given up to drawings in pastel and charcoal that portrayed the pageant of racial influx and the tragedy of the bread line.

More, that was why in addition to newspaper, magazine and volume presentation, and to programs before local and national bodies, the "piled up actualities" of the reports were visualized in a civic exhibit at Carnegie Institute, where maps, charts, diagrams, pictures and placards were flanked by such challenging portrayals as a huge death calendar (one red cross for every man killed at his work on the day killed); as a reproduction of Munier's puddler with the current Pittsburgh price marked for an eye lost or an arm or leg off. (The rates of redress at the time ran pitifully from $300 to nothing at all.)

IV. SPRINGS OF ACTION:

The investigation was made on the invitation of progressive Pittsburghers and at a time when nascent social forces were exerting themselves locally. With these the survey collaborated from the start; and however testy was the outcry in interested quarters, where the findings unearthed hoary evils, the net result in the long run was that Pittsburgh was pointed out as a city which at a time of deficit in urban well-being had the civic grit to take an inventory and publish a statement. Housing and school reports were made available for local reform movements in advance of publication; a tax study provided leverage for state legislation which turned Pittsburgh from the most backward to the most progressive American city in this field; and when the survey ended, an associated charities and a civic commission were at

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work as new organized forces in the life of the community. Nationally, the responsible investigator in the field of industrial accidents, Crystal Eastman, became the secretary of the Employer's Liability Commission of New York—the first of the group of state commissions which in the succeeding five years wrote compensation laws in twenty-three states. A by-product of the survey was the creation of the Cabot Fund (by a conscientious stockholder of the United States Steel Corporation) which was instrumental in finally toppling over the 12-hour day in the steel industry. The survey never made any claim to being the founder, originator or discoverer of progress in Pittsburgh or the American steel industry. The brunt of changes has been borne by local and national organizations. These illustrations are used not to in any way set up a claim of accomplishment, but rather to emphasize the dynamic spirit which animated the work.

Insofar then as this pioneer Pittsburgh project in its search for truth and its efforts to spread understanding, put its stamp on a scheme for applying research to community progress, the elements that characterized it were these—its synthesis of major factors entering into a given area or a given problem; its analysis of those factors in terms of individual experience; the graphic interpretation of these findings in ways to "get them over" to the public, engage springs of action, and enable the forces of democracy to put the facts to work.

The Spread of Surveys

WITHIN the next three years, surveys of various sorts had been carried out in twenty American cities and, to give them counsel and cooperation, the Russell Sage Foundation had established a Department of Surveys and Exhibits under the directorship of Shelby M. Harrison of the Pittsburgh Survey staff. The department itself directed a survey of Springfield, Lincoln's home town, the capital city of Illinois, which as a center for manufacture, mining, agriculture and commerce is thoroughly representative of the Middle West. Initiated locally, the Springfield Survey was collaborated in by seventeen agencies, state and national, public and private. The outside group of experts undertook to crystallize practical recommendations which a local committee employed in organizing public opinion; and two years later forty specific advances could be listed in the fields covered by the reports. By this division of labor, the Springfield Survey made a distinctive contribution in linking fact-finding with "follow-up." Formulation by the investigating staff of objectives close to the facts, coupled with organized local effort to get the public to understand and reckon with them, is a very different formula from clapping a preconceived program onto a community and propaganda to bring it about. It begins at the bottom and works up in an educational process. It applies research.

The general community survey is essentially a ground breaker. On the one hand, it is especially adapted to communities which are weak in social data and need a general assay as a basis for self-knowledge. On the other hand, it is especially adapted to communities which are strong in initiative and which, by such a deep-reaching process of inventory, may box the compass of their opportunity for constructive development.

The tendency in the United States in recent years has been toward employing the survey as a method for appraising some major phase of the community life—what might be called two-dimension surveys, if we regard the earlier general community surveys as three-dimensional. Buffalo carried forward an all-round survey of its great Polish district, for example; but the characteristic development is illustrated by Cleveland, where the Cleveland Foundation embarked in turn upon surveys of education, recreation, and criminal justice. Each was a synthesis of the factors entering into the problem studied, each factor was taken up inductively, all were studied against the background of the community life as a whole. In their thoroughness and in the steps taken to educate the Cleveland public they were of large caliber. Similarly St. Louis has had successive surveys in the fields of criminal justice and education; and at the present time Boston is in the midst of an exhaustive survey of the administration of justice in all its phases under Dean Roscoe Pound and Professor Felix Frankfurter.

It is, however, in the field of health that the most notable series of specialized community surveys has been carried out by American communities. Two universities and four national health organizations participated in a health and hospital survey in Cleveland on invitation of the twenty-one institutions organ-

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ized in its Hospital Council. Surveys of hospital and health agencies of San Francisco and Louisville, by Dr. Haven Emerson, are recent outstanding examples. Studies by the U. S. Public Health Service, the American Public Health Association (cities over 100,000) and the American Child Health Association (cities over 40,000) afford a national background of comparative information as to their health administration and resources; and today there is available a permanent corps of trained diagnosticians keeping in constant practice by moving from one community to another.

The survey technique has been applied to broader areas—counties, states, regions, the nation; and to more sharply defined themes—to some one segment of a subject field, such as a city-wide study of needs and resources in dealing with tuberculosis. The Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation lists no fewer than 132 main headings, and reports a total of 2,700 surveys of one sort or another, in its new bibliography. Surveys of health (458) and education (582) top the list, and the headings are interesting:

HEALTH

General (Health and Sanitation) 137

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Paralleling the survey movement has gone forward the work of research under the aegis of the sociologists—notably Giddings, with his original concepts and scientific method, Park and Burgess with their psychological and organic approach to group life, and a score of others making distinctive contributions to community self-knowledge. But the work of the sociologists, economists and their kin in the social sciences falls in a later article.

The Municipal Research Movement

SLIGHTLY antedating the germination of the Pittsburgh Survey was the birth of the municipal research movement in the United States. The failure of American municipal government to function in the interests of human welfare had had dramatic and impressive demonstration. James Bryce had proclaimed it late in the eighties, and political reformers and journalists such as Lincoln Steffens had exhibited its corruption.

Americans could not achieve better social conditions so long as municipal ineptitude created or failed to prevent more maladjustments than all the philanthropists could hope to patch up. Two social workers, Henry Bruère and William H. Allen then of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor of New York, together with Frederick A. Cleveland, then a young expert in public finance, initiated the first Bureau of Municipal Research—that of New York.

Many kinds of practical problems were taken up: municipal budget making and systems of purchase of supplies, the school census and the enforcement of school attendance laws, the testing of the milk supply, employment methods and organization of personnel in government departments and bureaus, the scheduling of work programs and the control of expenditures in accordance with them, the cleaning of streets and public buildings, the legislative performance of aldermen and city councillors, the care accorded city wards in various types of institutions.

(*Continued on page* 416)

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AMERICAN CHILD HEALTH ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. Herbert Hoover, President; Philip Van Ingen, M.D., Secretary; S. J. Crumbine, M.D., General Executive. Objects: Sound promotion of child health, especially in cooperation with the official health and education agencies.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE HARD OF HEARING, INC.—Promotes the cause of the hard of hearing; assists in forming organizations. Pres., Dr. Horace Newhart; Secretary, Betty C. Wright, 1601—35th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, INC.—President, M. C. Migel, 125 East 46th St., New York. Studies ways of improving the condition of the blind; promotes the establishment of necessary public and private agencies; works for the enactment of Federal and State Legislation designed to promote the best interests of the blind. Supported by voluntary contribution.

AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION—Alice L. Edwards, executive secretary, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C. Organized for betterment of conditions in home, school, institution and community. Publishes monthly Journal of Home Economics; office of editor, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C.; of business manager, 101 East 20th St., Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. To provide a better understanding of the social hygiene movement; to advance sound sex education, to combat prostitution and sex delinquency; to aid public authorities in the campaign against the venereal diseases; to advise in organization of state and local social-hygiene programs. Annual membership dues $2.00 including monthly journal.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER—Dr. George A. Soper, managing director, 25 West 43rd Street, New York. To collect, collate and disseminate information concerning the symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues, $5.00.

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ASSOCIATION OF VOLUNTEERS IN SOCIAL SERVICE—151 Fifth Avenue. Volunteer Placement, Education, Publications. Mrs. Geer, Pres. Mrs. Campbell, Sec'y.

THE BOY CONSERVATION BUREAU—90 West Broadway. Suggests all-the-year-round Home Schools for needy boys. Tel. Walker 0313. E. W. Watkins. Exec. Sec'y.

CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, INC.—730 Fifth Avenue, New York. To secure home life for normal dependent children in preference to institutions; to secure Mothers' Allowance laws in states having none; to urge adequate appropriations for home aid; to promote proper laws affecting adoption, boarding out and placing out of dependent children; to aid in the enforcement of these laws. States Council of Committee comprises volunteer representatives in practically every state. Sophie Irene Loeb, President; Governor Alfred E. Smith, Honorary President; Margaret Woodrow Wilson, First Vice-President; Edward Fisher Brown, Executive Secretary.

THE CHILDREN'S VILLAGE, INCORPORATED—Dobbs-Ferry-on-Hudson, New York. A national, non-sectarian training school scientifically equipped for the study, education and development of problem boys and girls, on commitment and by private arrangement—ages 7 to 16. Supported largely by voluntary contributions. For further information address Leon C. Faulkner, Managing Director.

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION—409 Palmer Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.; Will W. Alexander, Director. Seeks improvement of interracial attitudes and conditions through conference, cooperation, and popular education. Correspondence invited.

COUNCIL ON ADULT EDUCATION FOR THE FOREIGN-BORN—280 Madison Avenue, New York. Community organization and clearing-house for education and citizenship among the foreign-born. Publishes bulletins and serves as counselling agency. Chairman, John H. Finley; Treasurer, William H. Woodin; Secretary, Robert T. Hill.

COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS—105 East 22d St., New York. Composed of the Protestant national women's home mission boards of the United States and Canada. Purpose: To unify effort by consultation and cooperation in action.
- Florence E. Quinlan, Executive Secretary.
- Migrant Work, Laura H. Parker, Secretary.
- Religious Work Directors in Government Indian Schools.
- Bureau of Reference for Migrating People, follow-up of New Americans.
- Women's interdenominational groups—state, county, and local—are affiliated.

EYE SIGHT CONSERVATION COUNCIL OF AMERICA—L. W. Wallace, President; Guy A. Henry, General-Director, Times Bldg. New York. Conducts a national educational campaign to promote eye hygiene. Urges correction of eye defects, protection against hazards, proper lighting. Comprehensive publications—lantern slides—lecture material. Cooperation of social agencies invited.

The Perils of Thinking

A centipede was happy, quite,
Until a frog in fun
Said, "Pray, which leg comes after which?"
This raised her mind to such a pitch
She lay distracted in a ditch
Considering how to run.

That's what comes of thinking; it's an unhappy business. You never can tell when a pet theory will be stepped on and you'll "lie distracted in a ditch."

The organizations listed on these pages are dangerous; they promote thinking. They have an uncomfortable belief that maybe there is more to this business of living than running about like a centipede.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA—Constituted by 28 Protestant communions. Rev. C. S. Macfarland and Rev. S. M. Cavert, Gen. Sec's; 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.
- Dept. of Research and Education, Rev. F. E. Johnson, Sec'y.
- Commissions: Church and Social Service. Rev. W. M. Tippy, Sec'y; International Justice and Goodwill: Rev. S. L. Gulick, Sec'y; Church and Race Relations: Dr. G. E. Haynes, Sec'y.

FOUNDATION FOR STUDY OF PROHIBITION AND THE NEGRO—H. J. Mason, Director, Research and Publicity. M. W. Dogan, President; I. Garland Penn, Founder. Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

HUDSON GUILD—436 West 27th Street. Dr. John L. Elliott, head worker. Non-sectarian neighborhood house; organized to make effective in the community better ways of living and working together thru co-operative effort. Social, educational, recreational activities for men, women, and children. Health work; Athletics; Neighborhood Theatre; Mental Hygiene clinic. Supported by voluntary contributions and memberships.

THE LEAGUE TO ABOLISH CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—A national organization. 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Chairman; Vivian Pierce, Executive Secretary. Organized to abolish capital punishment in every state and in the District of Columbia. Annual membership $1, $5, $10, and $100, including monthly Bulletin.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—Promotes a better understanding of problems of democracy in industry through its pamphlet, research and lecture services and organization of college and city groups. Executive Directors, Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAVELERS AID SOCIETIES—25 West 43rd Street, New York. Marcus L. Bell, President; Sherrard Ewing, General Director; Miss Harriet E. Anderson, Director of Field Work. Represents co-operative efforts of member Societies in extending chain of service points and in improving standards of work. Supported by the Societies, supplemented by gifts from interested individuals.

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—Mrs. Robert E. Speer, president; Miss Mabel Cratty, general secretary, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This organization maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries to cover work in the United States in 1,034 local Y. W. C. A.'s on behalf of the industrial, business, student, foreign born, Indian, Colored and younger girls. It has 159 American secretaries at work in 49 centers in the Orient, Latin America and Europe.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Wiley H. Swift, acting general secretary, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York. To improve child labor legislation; to conduct investigation in local communities; to advise on administration; to furnish information. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly publication, "The American Child."

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC. (est. 1912, incorp. 1914), 70 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. (tel. Algonquin 9690). Promotes as its chief object the building of character in the children of America through the harmonious development of their bodies, minds, and spirits. Its method is, in co-operation with other organizations, to originate and disseminate educational material in the form of posters, books, bulletins, charts, slides, and insignia. Through its "Knighthood of Youth" it provides homes, schools and church schools with a method of character training through actual practice. Officers: Dr. John H. Finley, Pres.; Charles F. Powlison, Gen. Sec'y.

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THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.—Dr. William H. Welch, honorary president; Dr. Charles P. Emerson, president; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director; Dr. Clarence J. D'Alton, executive assistant; Clifford W. Beers, secretary; 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene, mental and nervous disorders, feebleminded-ness, epilepsy, inebriety, delinquency, and other mental problems in human behavior, education, industry, psychiatric social service, etc. "Mental Hygiene," quarterly, $3.00 a year; "Mental Hygiene Bulletin" monthly, $1.00 a year.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—Sherman C. Kingsley, president, Chicago, Ill.; Howard R. Knight, sec'y, 277 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio. The conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-fifth annual meeting of the Conference will be held in the spring of 1929. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS—Mrs. A. H. Reeve, President. Mrs. A. C. Watkins, Executive Secretary, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. To develop cooperation between home and school, and an informed public opinion which will secure highest advantages for all children.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, CHURCH MISSION OF HELP—27 West 25th St., New York. Agency of the Episcopal Church dealing with problems of unadjusted youth through social case work method. Seventeen units have been established, maintaining staffs of trained case workers in nine states.

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NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Miss Rose Schneiderman, president; 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Mrs. Ella A. Boole, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the department of Child Welfare, Economics of Prohibition, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Racial Groups, and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication: "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—315 Fourth Ave., New York City. Joseph Lee, president; H. S. Braucher, secretary. To bring to every boy and girl and citizen of America an adequate opportunity for wholesome, happy play and recreation. Playgrounds, community centers, swimming pools, athletics, music, drama, camping, home play, are all means to this end.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—For the Improvement of Living Conditions—John M. Glenn, dir.; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization. Delinquency and Penology, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Remedial Loans, Statistics, Surveys and Exhibits. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE—An institution for the training of Negro Youth; an experiment in race adjustment in the Black Belt of the South; furnishes information on all phases of the race problem and of the Tuskegee idea and methods; Robert R. Moton, principal; W. H. Carter, treasurer; A. L. Holsey, secretary, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

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WANTED: Experienced woman as Resident Director for Community Center; give details, salary, training, etc. Address Mrs. Raphael Levy, Sec., 3005 Monument Ave., Richmond, Va.

WANTED by child-placing society in Middle West colored case worker with at least a year's experience in high-grade placing-out society or family welfare society; state age, general education, professional education and experience. 6146 SURVEY.

WANTED: 2 Case Workers for Assistant County Secretaryships in eastern Pennsylvania Counties. Salary $1800. Apply County Agency Department, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, 311 S. Juniper St., Philadelphia.

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YOUNG MAN, ten years experience teaching crippled children, wishes high school instructor's or grammar principal's position. Robert Livermore, Newington Home, Newington, Conn.

YOUNG WOMAN desires executive position with settlement or national agency, preferably southern or western states. Nine years' successful experience. A.B. and Masters in Social Administration. 6134 SURVEY.

ASSISTANT large child caring institution considers change. Ten years' executive experience. 6138 SURVEY.

DIRECTOR Settlement and Boys' Clubs will consider opening; preferable in the West, but will consider going anywhere. 6098 SURVEY.

DRAMATIC DIRECTOR: Young woman, graduate of leading university, also of prominent dramatic school, seeks position as director of dramatics in a community theater or church. Several years' experience in teaching, camp work, civic theater and settlement. Address 6129 SURVEY.

YOUNG COUPLE: University training, experienced in teaching and social work, desire positions as teachers, caretakers or supervisors in institution. 6127 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED Boys' Work Director desires position; Settlement preferred; will consider camp for summer months; available any time. 6097 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN, college trained, and experienced in child welfare work and adults wishes to make a change. 6143 SURVEY.

BOYS' WORKER, college graduate, four years' settlement and camp experience, desires change in September. Apply 6141 SURVEY.

TEACHER, experienced, desires school position teach young children introduction to sciences in truth-seeking open-minded experimental approach. 6144 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN LAWYER (Jewish), University graduate, L.L.B., with six years' experience, would like position with Legal Aid bureau, or with legal department of settlement house or social service organization. Excellent references. 6128 SURVEY.

WOMAN EXECUTIVE with years' of experience as superintendent of institution for delinquent girls wishes similar position in home for girls or children. Best of references. 6122 SURVEY.

YOUNG COUPLE in early thirties, college graduates, Jewish, experienced in administrative and organization work with children and adolescents for over 10 years are open for engagement together or separately by community or educational center. Would also consider institutional position. Excellent references. 6142 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED WOMAN desires position as Resident Director or Executive Secretary in Settlement, Community Center or Girls' Club. 6147 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

EXPERIENCED WORKER, familiar with child caring institution and settlement details. Exceptional background. 6148 SURVEY.

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WANTED—the first of September, part time teaching, Design, Art Embroideries, crafts; prefer vicinity of Boston or New York. Woman student. 6132 SURVEY.

WOMAN, experienced institutional bookkeeper, excellent references. Available immediately. 6125 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN, director of boys camp for four years. Available for position at either girls or boys camp. 6130 SURVEY.

NURSE COMPANION, graduate, would like position with invalid lady. City or country. Atwater 3100, Apartment 250. 6131 SURVEY.

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BUSINESS or professional woman, take your vacation trip by motor. Professional woman drives. References exchanged. Address Box 276, Wytheville, Va.

PAMPHLETS

CANDY MAKING FOR PROFIT, by Alice Bradley, illus. folder describing home-study course, with "work sheet" formulas, sales plans, equipment, etc., for APPROVED Home-Made Candies; free with sample "work sheet". Am. Sch. of Economics, 5772 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

JUNIOR CIVICS collects news and views of scattered causes of youth's self-government throughout America. "Outlook" size, monthly, dollar per year, edited by Junior Republic graduate. Box 381, Litchfield, Conn.

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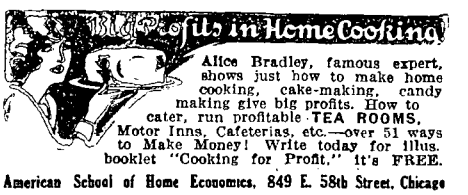

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Since 1906 similar organizations have been set up in almost every large city. A recent directory of these agencies lists sixty-eight for the United States and Canada, in addition to eleven units in universities. These bureaus are maintained at an estimated annual expenditure of $1,300,000, and in all but a few cases they are supported by current contributions either received directly or through a parent organization such as a community chest, a tax-payer's organization or a chamber of commerce.

Not only research functions but also publicity and active promotion have been the methods used, but as more obvious evils are wiped out, the work has settled down to continuous technical research service in governmental administration. A national body known as the Governmental Research Conference meets annually for the exchange of ideas and experience, the furtherance of cooperative research projects and the general promotion of governmental efficiency throughout the country. The movement has not interested itself with theories of the state or with abstractions as to function; yet it has contributed to political science in one important respect. It has given us a far more realistic and rationalistic picture of the municipality as the modern agency for urban self-government than we had before. Moreover it has given us a sense of the importance of specific processes by which governmental work is done.

The integration of governmental, social and economic elements in our applied research is illustrated by the comprehensive survey of Indian affairs under the auspices of the Institute of Governmental Research. The study was initiated and financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., with a gift of $125,000. It had the sanction of the U. S. Department of the Interior, and was executed by a staff of experts under the direction of Lewis E. Merriam. The report just issued (and reviewed in this issue of The Survey) includes health, family life, education, cultural factors, property rights, self government—a wide range of problems involved in our vulnerable stewardship in the field of our oldest racial problem.

City and Regional Planning

TO turn to another focus in the application of social research to community progress, there has been a marked swing in city planning in this country toward deepening and spreading the investigations basic to it. A prototype was the New York Tenement House Commission of 1900 with its incisive studies out of which sprang our first effective measures for the regulation of congregate dwellings.

City planning, like our earlier civic-improvement movements, to which it was in sequence, came to us under inspiration from abroad. It is gratifying to know that in return, Americans have contributed to the replanning of communities in the regions devastated in the World War. We are indebted to architects, landscape architects, engineers and builders for its spirited and solid development on this side of the water. Under these auspices, it was natural that the first emphasis was on traffic arteries, street plans, parks, public squares and the like. The spread of zoning emphasized the importance of social and economic composition (residence, business, and manufacturing districts). The newer regional plans are preceded by what are essentially surveys. While the situation is attacked from the standpoint of structural design and service, social and economic configurations are beginning to play as big a part as geographical. There is thus seen to be a rapprochement between the working conceptions of the New York Tenement House Commission's inquiry of 1900, The Pittsburgh Survey of 1907-8, and Burnham's pioneer large-scale city plan of Chicago in 1909, the influence of which has mounted year by year.

This internal development in the scope and content of planning is most marked in metropolitan projects which have burst city boundaries; notably those of the Regional Planning Association of Chicago, the National Capital Park and Planning Commission at Washington, the Regional Planning Federation of the Philadelphia Tri-state District and the Regional Plan of New York City and Its Environs. In New York, also, a state commission has been at work, in collaboration with local bodies, envisaging whole water-sheds and such great natural areas as the Hudson Valley and the Niagara Power Belt. Its approach is that of a group of the younger planners who are bringing new perspectives into our facing of urban facts and who insist that we shall not get far in mastering the welter of congestion until, instead of from the center out, we plan from the rim of a region in.

The Regional Plan of New York and Environs will be completed this year. Five thousand two hundred and twenty-eight square miles lying in three states—New York, New Jersey and Connecticut—are embraced in it. Seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been spent upon it in the last five years by the Russell Sage Foundation, and in addition to the two culminating volumes to be issued next fall presenting the regional plan itself, and a sheaf of minor and preliminary reports, the findings of the regional survey on which the plan is based are comprised in ten large volumes now coming from the press.

The topographic maps in color, the Graphic Regional Plan in twenty-four sheets, fascinating architectural designs for miles of waterfront development, the proposals for airports and flying fields, are perhaps more arresting, but they are scarcely more significant than the emphasis throughout on social and economic research. The studies of industries as integers in planning, of neighborhood units, of recreation in the modern sense are particular illustrations; the gamut runs from land values and taxation as it enters into the town's floor, to sunlight planning for house construction and street direction—where the sky's the limit. The titles of these survey volumes tell the story:

Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement
Chemical, Metal, Wood, Tobacco, and Printing Industries
Food, Clothing and Textiles Industries, Wholesale Markets, and Retail Shopping and Financial Districts
Growth and Distribution of Population and Land Values
Highway Traffic
Transit and Transportation—and Industrial Areas
Public Recreation
Buildings: Their Uses and Spaces About Them. Including reports on Zoning, Housing, Sunlight in Urban Areas, and Economics of High Buildings
Planning and Development of Land. Including Reports on Economics of Land Subdivision, Neighborhood Units, New Towns and Garden Cities
Public Services and Miscellaneous

Thus our largest scale project in regional planning has, as it has taken shape, and within the range of its scope, become our largest scale survey. In the searching quality of its research, in the intricacy of the problems addressed, and in its synthesis of engineering, legal, economic, and social factors under the aegis of the architects' genius for design, it reaches new stature in ways other than size. Its director is Thomas Adams, a Scotchman.

Out of it has come the proposal for an institute or school of city and regional planning, associated with one of the great universities, correlating the resources of the various cognate professions and sciences and both by teaching and research, endeavoring to lift this new and synthetic vocation to a permanent footing.

Meanwhile the American community survey has been exported with success. Such surveys have been carried out in the ancient capital of one of the world's newest republics—Prague; and in two centers of the world's oldest civilizations—Constantinople and Peking. In sinking shafts of inquiry into the deeper strata of civilization, we may have as yet less to offer than the seasoned scholarships of older countries. But we have developed tools for use in the encounter of European peoples with a new environment—the American continent; and in their encounters and those of their descendants with changes in political, economic and social circumstance. Insofar as the World War has shattered the map of Europe, dislodged dynasties, set up republics and altered the contours of the social and economic order in even the most settled commonwealths; insofar as there has been a loosening up of fixed relationships, admitting of freer play for men's purposes in the control of their own lives—some of the tools we have found useful may today have a livelier significance abroad than would have been the case before the War.

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